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PREHISTORIC EARTHWORKS IN WISCONSIN.

A. B. STOUT,
University of Wisconsin.

In presenting this subject it seems best to the writer to treat somewhat in detail the various classes of earthworks and then to give a summary for the state as a whole with a brief discussion of the archæological area to which it belongs. With this plan in view the various artificial earthen structures in Wisconsin of prehistoric origin (at least the greater number are prehistoric) may be grouped into the following rather well defined types: enclosures, conical mounds, flat topped mounds, effigy mounds, linear mounds, intaglio earthworks, refuse heaps, garden beds and corn fields. Altho there are some earth remains that are intermediate between various types, the above classification serves to good advantage for discussion and comparison, and may well be treated in the order given.

Few enclosures exist in Wisconsin. Yet the most famed of the earthworks within the state is an enclosure with accompanying earthworks which has been called the Aztalan ruins. It would be of no special value to present here a review of the literature pertaining to these earthworks. Those who desire this will find that West (1) has recently made a complete historical summary together with a critical analysis of the literature on Aztalan.

These remarkable ruins are now badly mutilated by long

cultivation of the land, but there can be little question concerning the main features as described by Hyer (1) and later by Lap-

PLATE 1.

Map of Wisconsin showing mound distribution. Reproduced from the Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 5, Nos. 3 and 4. The rounded symbols indicate location of conicals and the dotted ones indicate effigies.

ham (1). The main wall formed three sides of an irregular parallelogram with the river forming the fourth side (See plate 2). The total length of the wall as given by Lapham was 2,750

feet. The width was about 22 feet and the height was from one to five feet. It enclosed 17 2/3 acres. Along its outer edge were projecting "bastions" which in some cases resembled conical mounds. At a few places (and *only* at a few points) on the surface of the wall a shallow layer of burned clay was found. The presence of this burned clay has led to unwarranted descriptions of a ruined "brick" wall. The wall was made of

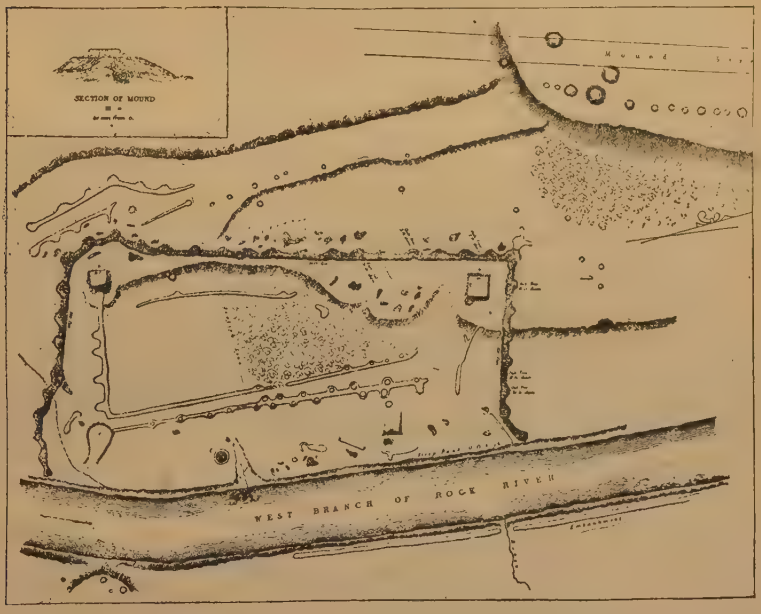

PLATE 2.

Map of the Aztalan earthworks as surveyed and platted by I. A. Lapham in 1850. From Antiquities of Wisconsin.

dirt taken from numerous excavations in the immediate vicinity. The clay "brickets" are most probably the remains of clay plastered huts.

Within the enclosure were various earthworks. At least three were flat-topped, pyramidal mounds with graded approaches and in one case with terraced sides. The largest was 15 feet high with a level top 53 feet square. Lapham (1) noted within the enclosure some two dozen circular mounds resembling

hut rings. Effigy mounds probably existed within the enclosure and linear and conical mounds were quite numerous in the immediate vicinity. Some of the latter which were 25 feet high in 1837 still show as conspicuous features (See plate 4).

It is greatly to be regretted that the various efforts made to preserve these earthworks were not successful. Seventy years of continuous cultivation over the greater portion of the

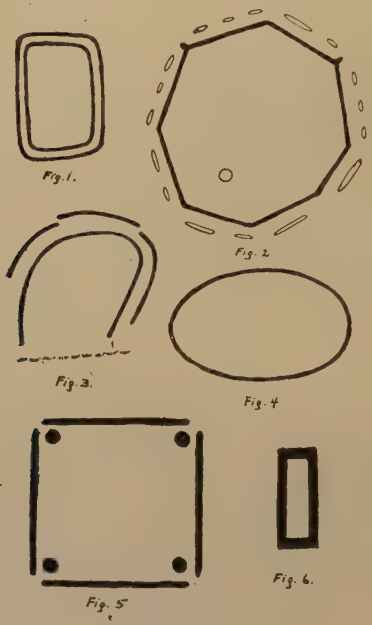

PLATE 3.

Fig. 1. Double walled enclosure in Adams Co., Wisconsin. Encloses nearly 175 sq. rods. From Lapham's Antiquities of Wisconsin, page 71.

Fig. 2. Enclosure with excavations, enclosing nearly 150 sq. rods. From survey by Canfield in Outline Sketches of Sauk Co.

Fig. 3. Enclosure near Milwaukee. About 80 feet across the opening. From plat by Lapham. See Antiquities of Wisconsin, plate 4.

Fig. 4. Located at Fulton. Greatest diameter 500 feet. Wall was 30 to 40 feet wide and from 2 to 3 feet high. From Antiquities of Wisconsin, plate 24.

Fig. 5. Enclosure with sides four rods long. Conical mounds are situated at each corner. From plat by Lawson. Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 2, Nos. 2 and 3, page 77.

Fig. 6. Enclosure 68½ feet by 16½ inside measurements. The wall is 10½ feet wide and nearly a foot in height. Situated in Sauk Co. From author's survey. See Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 5, No. 2, Fig. 3.

earthworks has so effaced the finer features that many important questions can not be determined. In the light of the present knowledge of American archæology the surface features might be interpreted readily. The judgment of to-day is that here was an inclosed Indian village. The presence of effigy mounds in and about the enclosure, of conical burial mounds, and of the abundance of Indian artifacts found on the site, all of which are characteristic of the archæology of the region, leads to the conclusion of West (1) that Aztalan was "the site of a permanent village of prehistoric Indians of the effigy mound period."

Besides the Aztalan enclosure some 20 other but smaller

PLATE 4.

Series of conical mounds at Aztalan. Photo by H. R. Clough. Also reproduced in Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 5, No. 3.

enclosures have been reported in various parts of the state. These include oval, square, rectangular, octagonal and horseshoe shaped enclosures. A few of these are shown in Plate 3. Some are evidently the earthen remains of fortified areas, others were dance or play grounds and others lodge sites. Among the enclosures are several in the Green Bay region that are associated with Indian villages of historic date.

The enclosures of Wisconsin do not constitute an important or a distinguishing feature of its archæological remains. The best of them do not compare in extent or in exactitude of design to the numerous hill forts, enclosures and defensive walls of

Ohio. They are few in number, simple in plan of construction and of varied use. They give evidence of sporadic and feeble attempts at fortification, and of exceptional rather than general use of dirt walls in the construction of buildings. They are as-

PLATE 5.

Fig. 1. Conical mound at Lake Koshkonong. Mound is 12 feet high and 60 feet in diameter. The base extends to the extreme edges of the picture. Also reproduced in Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 7, No. 2.

Fig. 2. Conical mound in Sauk Co. Is seven feet high and 50 feet in diameter. Photo by H. E. Cole of Baraboo. Also reproduced in Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 5, No. 2.

sociated with various other types of earthworks and with village sites in a manner which marks them as the work of Indians.

In taking up the discussion of conical mounds we have to consider the type of mound most extensively distributed over the mound bearing area. Externally they are dome shaped heaps of dirt appearing to the eye as shown in plates 4, 5, and 6. In Wisconsin conical mounds range in diameter at the base from 10 to nearly 100 feet and from a few inches to about 25 feet in height above the surrounding level. Most of them are less than ten feet in height.

PLATE 6.

Conical mound in Cutler Park, Waukesha, Wis. Marked at the state meeting of the State Archæological Society in May, 1906.

The various modes of burial in these mounds do not admit of a satisfactory classification. Either stones were first used to construct a rude vault, or bark and logs were used for the same purpose or the remains were directly covered with dirt. When stones were used their arrangement varies from a low stone wall surrounding the remains to a rough vault of stones piled over the body. In the latter case if the dirt layer was originally thin, or possibly even omitted, the structure would now appear as a cairn burial. Lawson (1) has described about 30 cairns located in the vicinity of Lake Winneconne which are

PLATE 7.

The "Koshkonong Group" of mounds at Lake Koshkonong. Note the mingling of conicals, linears and effigies. For complete description see Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 7, No. 2.

supposed to contain burials. The construction of a vault or tepee like shelter of bark or logs was evidently a common practice. The greater portion of the mound is of dirt which is usually unstratified especially in the smaller mounds. Stratified mounds are, however, rather common.

PLATE 8.

The Gen. Atkinson Group of Mounds at Lake Koshkonong. Note the arrangement of conicals in rows and the various types of linears and effigies, several of which are shown enlarged in later plates. From survey by H. L. Skariem and the author. See Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol 7, No. 2.

This feature is the result either of successive additions to a mound or of the employment of different soils which were laid on in layers.

In any of the above cases one or many bodies may occur in a single mound. The body or bodies were either placed prostrate or in a sitting position with the feet extended or in a sitting position with the feet folded under the body. Burials were made below the original surface of the ground, on the surface, or scattered at various levels thru the mound. In the latter case there is usually evidence that burials were made at different times either with or without additions of dirt, the latter being what is called an intrusive burial.

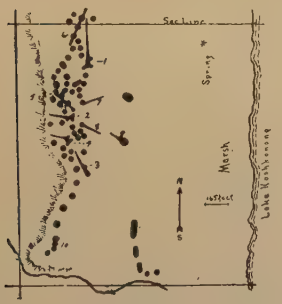

PLATE 9.

The Noe Springs Group at Lake Koshkonong. Note the large number of conicals and the combinations of conicals and linear forms. There are four panther effigies in this group. For detailed description see Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 7, No. 2.

The interment of the dead did not always occur soon after death while the body was intact. In the so-called "bundle burial" the dismembered bones from one or more skeletons were deposited each in a separate bundle with the skull placed on or near the bundle and again the bones were piled in a confused mass forming a communal burial.

Fire was commonly used in the burial ceremony leaving such evidence as layers of ashes with charcoal or even charred and partly consumed timbers.

A considerable number of mounds have been opened with the view of carefully studying the method of burial but these cases are few compared with those that have been ruthlessly opened by relic hunters.

Various artifacts are often but not always found beside the remains of the dead. Of these pottery vessels, arrow points, stone axes, and pipes are most common. In the majority of mounds there is no evidence that they were built since the advent of the whites, yet there are numerous authentic records

of the presence with the original burial of such articles as glass beads, iron implements, gun flint, copper kettles and even in one case (Hoy 1) of "a small fur covered brass nailed trunk" containing cheap jewelry. These facts clearly indicate that some of the conical mounds were constructed after the establishment of trade relations with the whites, a point corroborated by considerable historic data.

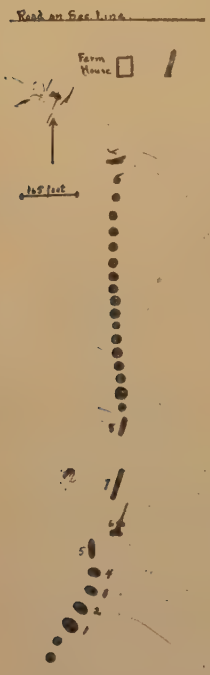

PLATE 10.

The Kumlien Group of Mounds near Lake Koshkonong. Note the extreme linear arrangement.

Seldom are excavataions found from which dirt was taken for the building of mounds. In plowed fields the soil of mounds nearly always shows a marked color contrast to that of the field. Stratified mounds are usually built of layers of different material. Some mounds are composed entirely of clay, others of rich black loam, and still others of a rather coarse gravelly soil. The dirt was evidently obtained from some near by ravine, bank or other unsodded exposure.

It is conclusive that but a small proportion of the dead were buried in mounds, for associated with mound groups are village sites with cemeteries of shallow dirt burials in which the greater number were buried.

Conical burial mounds occur singly or in groups. In the southern part of the state they are usually grouped with linear and effigy mounds. In most groups there is a miscellaneous arrangement of types as is seen in plates 7, 8 and 9. There is, however, a noticeable tendency for the conicals to be arranged in long rows as shown in plates 8 and 10, an archæological feature characteristic of the so-called Wisconsin District (Thomas 1). Short chains of conicals with edges overlapping occur as indicated in plates 9 and 22. Conicals with linear connections are not uncommon (See plates 9 and 22).

In regard to numbers the conicals far exceed the total of

all other mounds in Wisconsin. Some data on this point will be presented later.

The oval mound differs from the conical only in having an oval base. They are less frequent and shade into the short linear type.

In Wisconsin flat topped and truncated pyramidal mounds are few in number. A few low broad topped "platform" mounds are found along the Mississippi River (See plate 11.) Lapham

PLATE 11.

Platform mound with two linears in the foreground. Located in Trempealean County, Wis., near the Mississippi River.

reported several pyramidal mounds nearly all of which were at Aztalan.

We now come to the most interesting and remarkable of Wisconsin antiquities, the effigy mounds. These are dirt cameos built in the form of various animals or in some cases possibly to represent inanimate subjects. Some of the animals most accurately represented are the turtle, deer, mink, panther, bear, various types of birds and in at least two cases the human figure. Some are rather crude in outline but the greater number are well formed and of good proportions as can be seen in the plates

illustrating this article. There is some degree of exaggeration in the extenuated tails of many of the turtle and panther effigies, but in the majority of cases the art displayed is realistic. This is especially shown in the fact that the animal is represented as it is usually observed in nature. The turtle, frog and lizard-

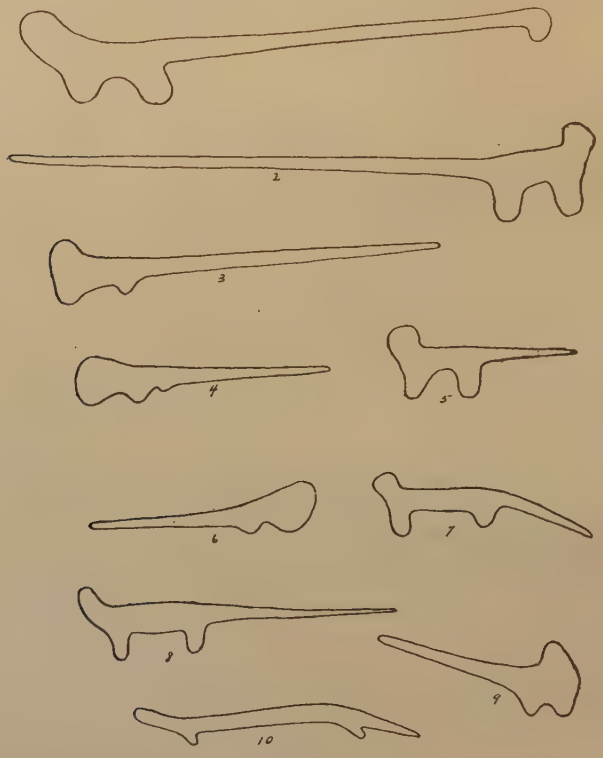

PLATE 12.

Fig. 1. Panther with tip of tail turned down. At Morris Park, Lake Mendota (near Madison). Extreme length 359 feet.

Fig. 2. Panther in Koshkonong Group. Length 386 feet.

Fig. 3. In Noe Springs Group. Length 247.

Fig. 4. In Koshkonong Group. Is 167 feet in length.

Fig. 5. Panther in Kumlien Group. Length is 116 feet.

Fig. 6. Mound in Noe Springs Group. Is 154 feet in length. This is clearly an effigy, but the outlines are less true to nature than are the others on this plate.

Figs. 7 and 8. Mounds in Sauk Co.

Fig. 9. Mound in Koshkonong Group. Resembles No. 3, but the shorter tail is upturned.

Fig. 10. A typical mink effigy in Sauk Co.

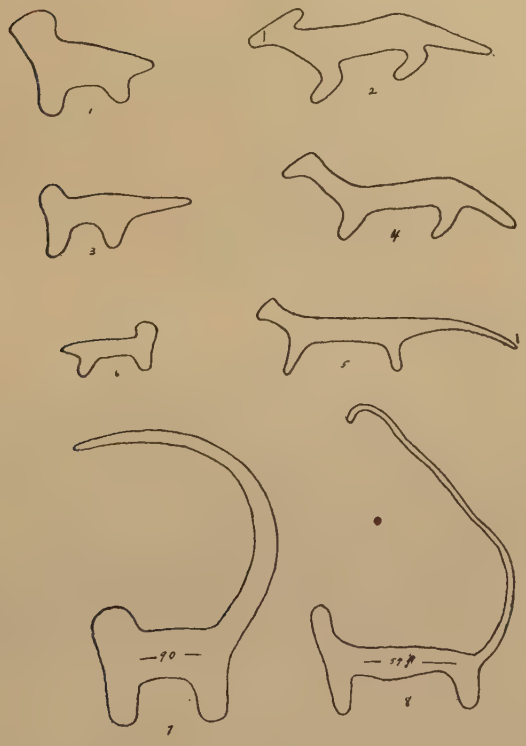

PLATE 13.

Fig. 1. Length 70 feet. Located at the north end of Devil's Lake, Sauk Co. See Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 5, No. 2, page 266.

Fig. 2. An effigy at east end of Lake Mendota near Madison. Length is 166 feet. The animal is evidently represented in the act of running. From writer's survey. Plat also shown by Peet in Prehistoric America, Vol. 2 (1898), fig. 249.

Fig. 3. Mound south of cemetery, west of city of Madison. Length 102 feet. From writer's survey.

Fig. 4. Mound at Mayville. From Lapham's survey. Antiquities of Wisconsin, Plate 39.

Fig. 5. Mound near Milwaukee. After Lapham, plate 7.

Fig. 6. Mound at Baraboo, 64 feet in length.

Fig. 7. Mound on Asylum Grounds at Lake Mendota. The so-called squirrel mound. De Hart put two fore limbs and ears to his plat of this mound. (See Prehistoric America, Vol. 2, (1898), Fig. 20.) The body and limbs have never been disturbed and show that the sketch by Dr. De Hart is very inaccurate.

Fig. 8. A mound in Sauk Co. near the Wisconsin River. From Antiquities of Wisconsin, plate 55.

like effigies (See plate 18) are built with the limbs at each side of the body, thus representing the animal as it appears when one looks down on it. Birds of the air (Plates 16 and 17) are shown as they appear when flying overhead and often the bill is shown as if the head were turned to one side. The forked tail and curved wings are present in some cases (See plate 16).

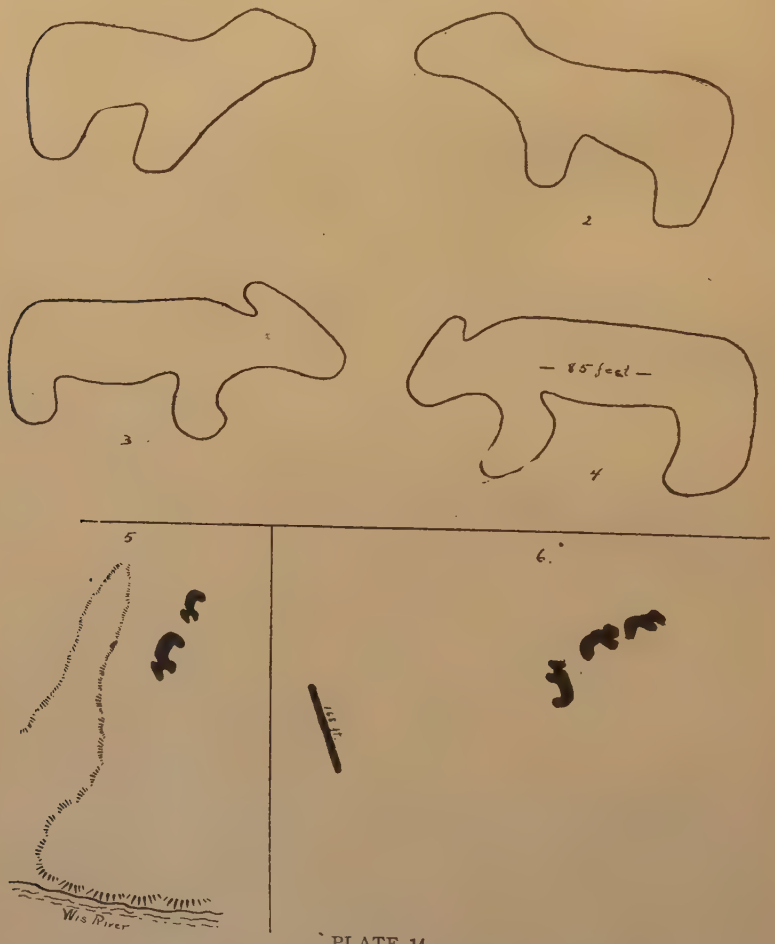

PLATE 14.

The first four figures show types of the bear effigies all drawn to the same scale. Figs. 5 and 6 show two cases of grouping where there is concerted action represented in the relative positions of the effigies.

Land mammals as the bear, deer, mink and panther are represented in profile which is the view one has of the animal either when alive or dead. In these, however, the two hind limbs and the two fore limbs are respectively united in the effigy, but in

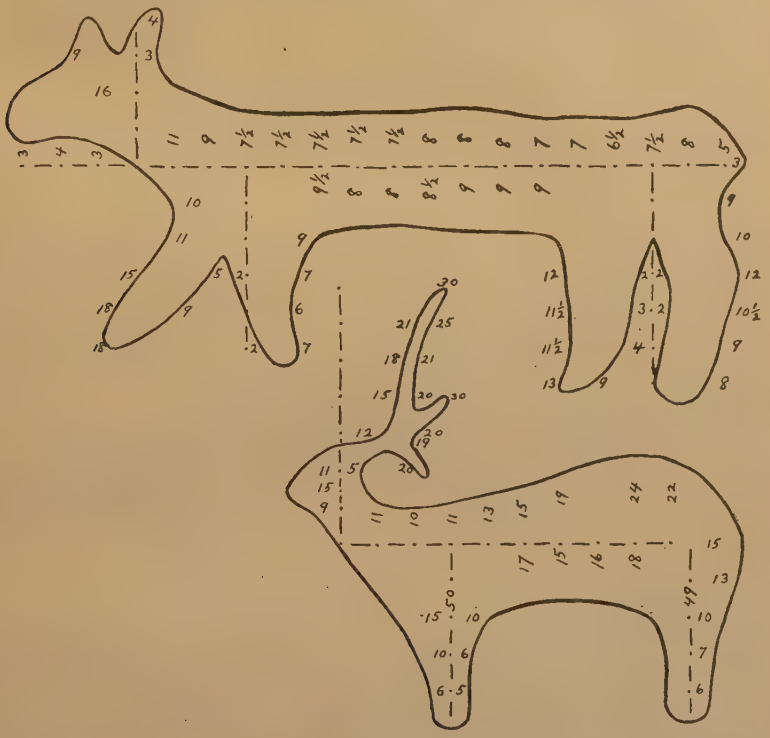

PLATE 15.

The upper figure is of a four-footed effigy in the group on the Asylum grounds near Madison. The separation of the two hind and the two fore limbs is an unusual feature.

The lower figure is that of a deer effigy situated within the city limits of Baraboo. These two plats show the author's method of surveying and platting mounds. The dots represent stations or stakes on the base or sub base lines. All measurements are taken at right angles to the various rows of stakes. The figure is traced on the squared paper using the scale most suitable.

a few cases (As in plate 15) all four limbs are shown in the profile making the figure more realistic.

The height of the majority of the effigy mounds is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 feet, altho a few are as high as 6 feet. Bear effigies

range in length from 39 to 82 feet in length and birds with wings extended from 100 to 624 feet. The bird in the group on the State Asylum Grounds near Madison (See plate 16) is, according to the data at hand, the largest bird effigy in existence. Its body stands six feet in height and the wing extent is 624 feet. During the field assembly of the Wisconsin Archæological

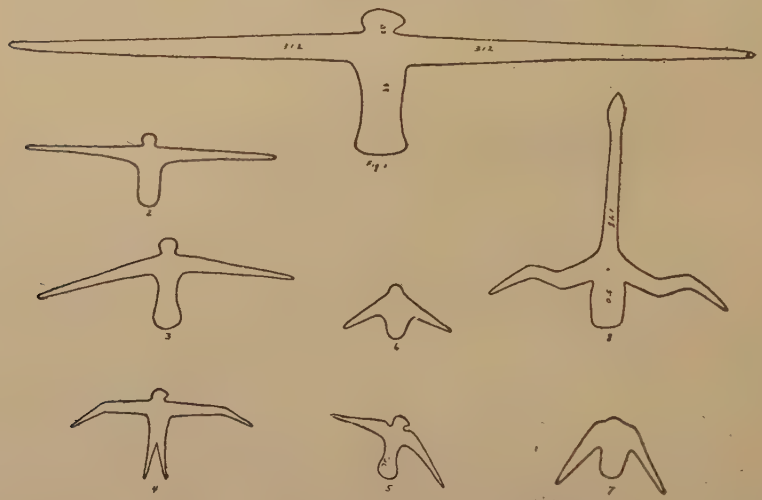

PLATE 16.

Various types of bird effigies are here shown, all drawn to the same scale.

Fig. 1. The giant bird on the Asylum Grounds near Madison. This is the largest bird known.

Fig. 2. Bird in Sauk Co. Wing extent is 212 feet.

Fig. 3. Bird with wings bent slightly downward. Has an extent of 218 feet. Situated on the property of the Sacred Heart Academy, Madison, Wis.

Fig. 4. Bird with forked tail and tips of wings bent. Situated at Devil's Lake, Wisconsin. From survey by Wm. H. Canfield.

Fig. 5. Effigy in Sauk Co.

Fig. 6. Effigy at Lake Koshkonong.

Fig. 7. Bird of the so-called spread eagle type. This particular mound is in the Gen. Atkinson Group shown in plate 8.

Fig. 8. A goose effigy at Merrill Springs near Madison. This is a rather rare type of effigy.

Society held during the summer of 1910, a tablet was erected on this mound with appropriate exercises.

Effigies are in many cases grouped with linear and conical mounds (Plates 7, 8, 9 and 10) altho they may be found either singly or in groups entirely separated from mounds of any other

class (Plate 17). In an individual group several types of effigies may be present and there may be duplicates of one or more types. In the arrangement of the effigies in a group no uniform method was followed, altho there is a tendency for them to be included with conicals in a long row. As a rule the effigies in a group bear no apparent relation to each other. Still in some cases there is co-ordination of action represented in the relative positions. For example, the three birds constituting the Lower Dells Group (See page 17) are represented as flying in unison. The mammoth bird in the Asylum Group is the central figure of three large birds represented as flying toward the lake with the wings overlapping. The bear mounds are sometimes arranged as tho the animals were walking together (See plate 14). Other examples could be cited which indicate that in some cases the builders intended to represent a co-ordination of action.

PLATE 17.

Lower Dells Group in Sauk Co. The three birds are represented as flying in unison. No. 1 has a wing extent of 214 feet; No. 2, 192 feet and No. 3, 240 feet. This group is also figured by Peet. In American Antiquarian, Vol. 5, fig. 85 and again in Prehistoric America, Vol. 2, fig. 85.

The abundance of mounds and the proportional numbers of the different types varies in different portions of the state. There are few areas where a complete survey has been made and upon which there is adequate statistical data.

For the purpose of illustrating various points regarding the number and the distribution of the various types, two typical areas can be taken from the midst of the effigy bearing region. In seven townships in Sauk County the writer located 734

mounds. About 50 miles southeast of Sauk County lies Lake Koshkonong with a water surface of nearly 13 square miles. The following table shows the principal facts in the comparison of these two areas.

	Sauk Co. Area.	L. Koshkonong Area.
Area in sq. miles.....	200	31
Total No. mounds.....	734	481
" " conicals.....	337	309
" " effigies.....	183	42
" " bear effigies.....	47	0
" " mink effigies.....	12	1
" " bird effigies.....	43	10
" " turtle effigies.....	0	9

It is to be noted that the effigies are less numerous than are the conicals. This is true of any given area. The character of the effigies in these two areas is different. The bear type so abundant in Sauk County is absent at Lake Koshkonong. Twelve mink are found at Sauk County and but one at Lake Koshkonong. The 43 birds in Sauk County have the wings extended while nearly all of those at Lake Koshkonong are of a very different type with drooping wings as shown in No. 9, plate 16.

The above illustrates the fact that the dominant types of various areas are different. Peet (1) has divided the effigy bearing area into seven clan habitats on the basis of the preponderance of one type of effigy. While this division is based on incomplete data it is suggestive of what will be revealed if a complete census of the effigy mounds is ever made.

Any discussion of effigies should not be concluded without some mention of the remarkable man mound at Baraboo, Wisconsin. In the early records of Wisconsin antiquities and in some later ones, it has been stated frequently that there are numerous mounds representing the human figure. The surveys of these, however, show the upper limbs to be greatly disproportionate to those of the human figure and that in many cases there is no suggestion of the lower limbs. A careful study of

this phase of Wisconsin archæology leads to the conclusion that there have been reported but two mounds with outlines that are true to those of the human figure. Both of these are located in Sauk County, which is geographically near the center of the effigy bearing area. Both were carefully surveyed by Wm. H. Canfield, a pioneer surveyor and archæologist of Sauk County, who contributed several surveys to the work on Wisconsin Antiquities by I. A. Lapham. One of these effigies known as the La Valle Man Mound has been leveled by cultivation and but for Mr. Canfield's timely survey all accurate data regarding it

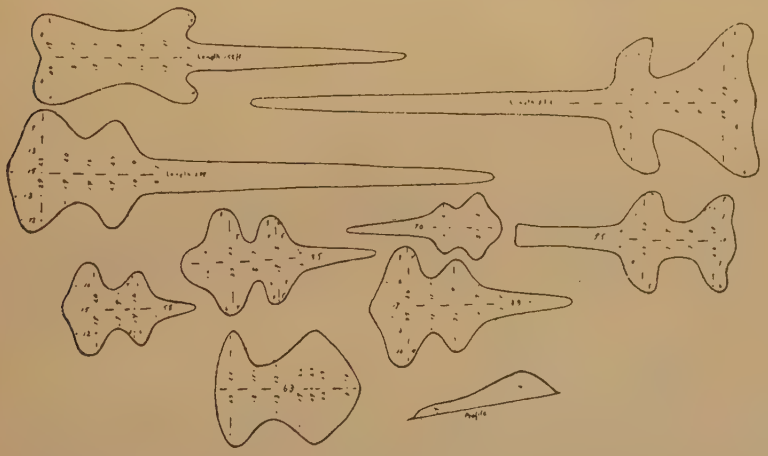

PLATE 18.

Various turtle mounds with modifications. The lowest figure is that of a "frog" effigy. All of these are at Lake Koshkonong.

would be unavailable. The second and more perfect effigy lies near Baraboo. Its original length was 214 feet, but nearly 60 feet of the lower limbs have been destroyed by the construction of a public highway. The outline given in plate 19 was traced by the writer from the original plat made by Mr. Canfield in 1859. The head, arms, trunk and upper part of the legs are still well preserved. The outlines are definite and well formed and the resemblance to a human figure is in no way exaggerated in the survey. In height the mound is nearly uniformly 2½ feet. It will be seen from the survey that the limbs are short in pro-

portion to the length of the body and that the figure is in the attitude of walking toward the west. The horn-like projections which evidently represent a head dress are noticeable features. Through the activity of the Wisconsin Archæological Society, the Sauk County Historical Society and the Wisconsin Federation of Woman's Clubs a public subscription was raised and purchase made of enough land surrounding the mound to make a small park. For complete data regarding the preservation of this mound those who are interested are referred to Vol. 7, No. 4, of the Wisconsin Archæologist. In comparison to these two readily recognizable effigies of the human figure the other "man mounds" seem clearly to be representations of birds or at the least grotesque forms of a human being.

Associated with effigy mounds in a few locations were earthworks known as intaglios. In the construction of these the dirt was dug away and the form of the animal represented in the excavation, a method which is the reverse of true mound construction.

But eleven intaglios have ever been reported. Nine of these were figured by Lapham and the other two were reported by his contemporary Wm. H. Canfield. The plats and descriptions which these two men made some half a century ago, give nearly all that will probably be known concerning intaglios. No others have been found, and of the nine reported all but one have been destroyed. This one is located at Ft. Atkinson. In form it is of the rather common type known as the panther mound. In length it is 108 feet. The greatest depth of 2½ feet is in the body, the depth of which is increased by the dirt piled up at the margin of the excavation. The tail is a slight but decided excavation and toward the tip it gradually merges into the general level. The photograph reproduced in plate 21 shows quite well the configuration of the body, head and limbs. As a class, intaglios constitute a unique and distinctly local feature. Their designs relate them to effigy mounds. One is a cameo, the other is an intaglio.

In distribution the effigy mounds are almost exclusively limited to the southern half of Wisconsin. A few are found in adjoining portions of Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota. The noted

"serpent mound" and three other mounds in Ohio are undoubtedly effigies. Unsubstantiated reports mention effigies in the bad lands of Dakota, and at least one is found in Canada. Two bird shaped figures constructed entirely of white quartz boulders have been described from Georgia

PLATE 19.

Plat of the man mound near Baraboo as traced from the original survey plat made by Wm. H. Canfield in 1859.

References —

Outline sketches of Sauk Co., page 17.

Prehistoric America, Vol. 2, fig. 218.

Am. Antiquarian, Vol. 1, page 196.

Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. 4, pages 365–368.

Leading events in Wisconsin History, page 16.

Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 5, No. 2, plate 2.

Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 7, No. 4.

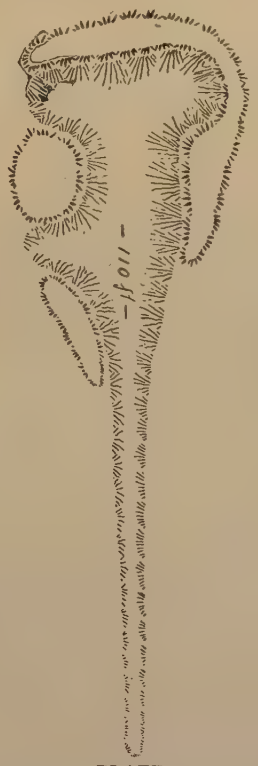

PLATE 20.

Plat of intaglio at Ft. Atkinson showing the outline of the figure and the walled up dirt surrounding part of it. From survey of C. E. Brown and the writer in April, 1910. This plate with the next in order will give you a clear conception of the intaglio.

(Jones I). These resemble the earth effigies of Wisconsin except that they are constructed of stones. The boulder mosaics of the Dakotas are simpler in construction for they consist of the figure in outline.

The mounds thus far considered as effigies are those that clearly represent some animal more or less recognizable. There are, however, various types of linear mounds and combinations of conical and linear forms that may have been constructed to symbolize inanimate things and hence may be called conventionalized effigies.

The principal classes of linear mounds are as follows:

The pure linear type is a straight wall like mound of uniform width and height. They are usually about 2½ feet in height and from 10 to 20 feet in width. Some are so short that they approach the oval and platform mound types, while the longest are over 900 feet in length. For relative sizes of this type see numbers 7 to 12 of plate 22.

The straight pointed linear is usually of considerable length and differs from the pure linear as given above in having one end tapering to a long drawn out point. (See Nos. 1, 2 and 3, plate 22). Variations from this type are to be found in which the pointed end may be bent to one side at an angle (See numbers 4, 5, 13, 14, of plate 22).

Club shaped linears are frequently found (Plate 22, No. 6) and kidney shaped linears are not wanting (No. 20, plate 22).

The various linear types described above are sometimes modified by an enlargement at one end (See Nos. 4, 15, 16 and 17, plate 22). This ranges from a low, flattened enlargement to a rounded, well built conical mound. Various projections or appendages to some of the linear forms (Fig. 25, plate 22) give figures that shade toward effigies proper. These types of linear mounds are mingled in the mound groups as shown in the various group plats (Plates 7, 8, 9, and 10). The studies and observations of the linear mounds made in the field from purely an archæological point of view have convinced the writer that the linear mounds of Wisconsin are really effigy mounds erected with symbolic meaning.

Besides the types already discussed there are peculiar com-

binations and composite mounds (See plate 22, Nos. 30, 31, and 32) which do not admit of any rational explanation. As Fowke (1) aptly says regarding the anomalous earth structures of Ohio, "The builders of such figures probably knew what they were about, but we cannot even guess at their thoughts or intentions."

Refuse heaps do not constitute a conspicuous feature on many of the Wisconsin village sites, yet they deserve some mention. The ones most noticeable are low and flattened heaps of various remains of camp refuse. No extensive explorations of village sites and refuse heaps have been carried on in Wisconsin.

PLATE 21.

Photo of the intaglio at Ft. Atkinson by the courtesy of Mr. W. D. James of that city. The figure lies in the same position relative to the bottom as in the preceding plate. The tail which extends to the extreme foreground lacks sufficient shade contrasts to show in the photo. The head, limbs and body show remarkably well. This is the first photo of this type of earthworks that has ever been reproduced.

Corn fields are associated with many of the village sites. Where they have not been disturbed by the white man's cultivation they are easily recognized. The hills are often 1½ feet in height and about 3 feet apart. Each hill is a dome shaped pile of dirt the result of continued heaping up of the soil. The photos reproduced in plate 24 show well the appearance of a typical Indian corn field. The largest fields comprise at least 40 to 60 acres but usually the fields are much smaller. In at

least two places in the lake Winnebago region [Lapham (1) and Lawson (2)] the stones scattered over a field "had been carefully collected into little heaps and ridges to make room for the culture of crops. The stone heaps are six to eight feet in diameter and from one to two feet high."

The present appearance of garden beds is fairly well shown in plate 25. As the name implies these are patches covered with ridges or beds. The best of these as described by Lapham (3) were "one hundred feet long, and had a uniform width of six feet. The depressions (paths) between the beds are 8 inches deep and 15 inches wide. Mr. Charles E. Brown has recently collected all the data on Wisconsin garden beds (Brown 1). He finds that they are present in 17 different localities which are nearly all in the eastern part of the state between Green Bay and Racine. They are of small area and are laid out in simple patterns displaying no such elaborate designs as are reported in Michigan. Garden beds are so often intimately associated with corn fields, village sites and mound groups that they must be ascribed to the same builders.

We have now considered the character of the principal archæological features that may be considered as within the range of the title of this paper. In regard to their general distribution it is to be noted that there are but five counties which at the present time have no record of at least some of the various classes of earthen remains. The most recent archæological map of the state appeared in 1906 and is here produced (See plate 1) as it appeared in the Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 5 Numbers 3 and 4. It shows in a grapic way the main facts in the distribution of conicals and effigies. By far the greater number of mounds are in the southern part of the state along the principal lakes and streams.

It is difficult to make an accurate estimate of the total number of mounds in the state for there are but a few areas in which a complete census has been made. The author would judge from the data at hand that there are at least 20,000 conical, linear and effigy mounds in the state.

The purposes for which most of these earth works were constructed are evident from the foregoing. The difficult points

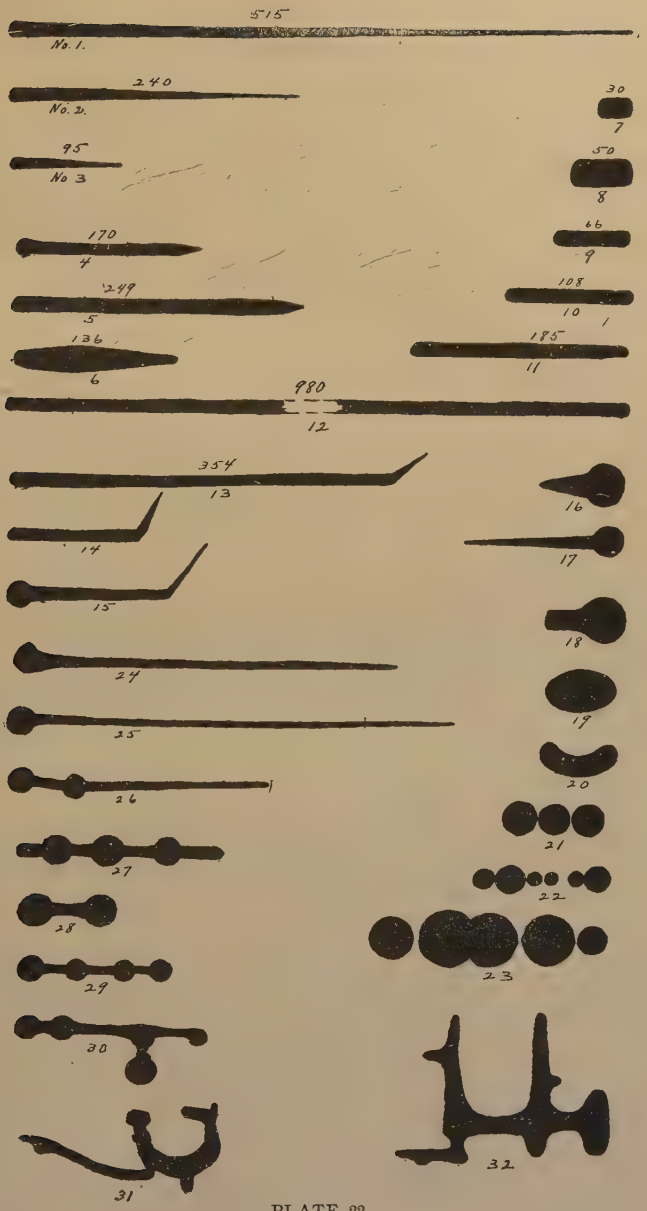

PLATE 22.

Plate showing various linear types, chains of conicals, conical and linear combinations and composite mounds. All are drawn to the same scale except No. 12 which should be nearly twice as long to be in proportion. Nos. 12, 31 and 32 are from the Antiquities of Wisconsin. All the others are from surveys by the writer in the Sauk Co. or the Koshkonong areas.

in this question are concerned with the effigy and linear mounds. In regard to the former it is now generally conceded that they were built as totems in connection with the clan system of Indian organization. To the writer the only satisfactory explanation of the linear mounds is to assign them to the effigy class. The various types of linears which have been, from time to time, considered as defensive walls may be found on the crests of narrow ridges, or extending down the slopes of steep hillsides, or even extending over a series of undulating ridges in such relation to each other and to the immediate topography that the theory of their use as a means of defense or as house

PLATE 23.

Photo of a linear mound at Lake Waubesa with conical mound beyond. By courtesy of Dr. W. G. McLachlan.

sites must be rejected. Human remains are so seldom found in linear mounds that it is clear they were not built for purposes of burial. Rev. Peet's views regarding their use as game drives are not accepted by archæological students. From the preceeding discussion of linear mounds it is evident that there are intermediate or transitional forms between the linears and the pure effigy types with which they are mingled. It must be admitted however that various elongated mounds extend westward into Minnesota and Manitoba beyond the limits of the

pure effigy types. Yet the character and extent of these linears are not adequately known. In fact no satisfactory study has been made of the range, number, and classification of the various types of linears and effigies. What is most needed at present is a complete systematic field survey, not of isolated areas here and there but of the entire area. This would make clear many perplexing questions and give abundant data to correlate with that obtained from historical and ethnological sources.

In the minds of the readers of these pages there will arise many legitimate questions pertaining to the authorship of these earthworks. A complete discussion of this problem is not in place here. Fortunately West (1) has recently compiled a work of nearly 200 pages in which he discusses all phases of the problem. For the benefit of the readers of this article the greater part of the conclusions which he deducts will be quoted although it is hoped that those who are especially critical will read the entire discussion given by West upon which the following conclusions are based.

1. The entrance of the principal mound-builders into Wisconsin appears to have been from the south and southwest. Other tribes, who erected some of the more recent conical tumuli, entered from the north and east.

2. The effigy mounds and other earthworks closely associated with them were erected during the same period, and by the same tribe or culturally related tribes.

3. No information that we now possess concerning the earthworks of our state justifies the conclusion that they are uniformly of great antiquity. The evidence is plain that of the burial mounds some were erected in early historic times. The date of the erection of the oldest mound groups may safely be placed at not to exceed three centuries previous to the discovery of America by Columbus.

4. The enclosure and closely associated works at Aztalan are the remains of an Indian village. None of the Wisconsin earthworks were built for purely religious, and none for sacrificial purposes. Cremation was not a usual practice, but the use of fire in burial ceremonies was a common custom among our ancient Indians.

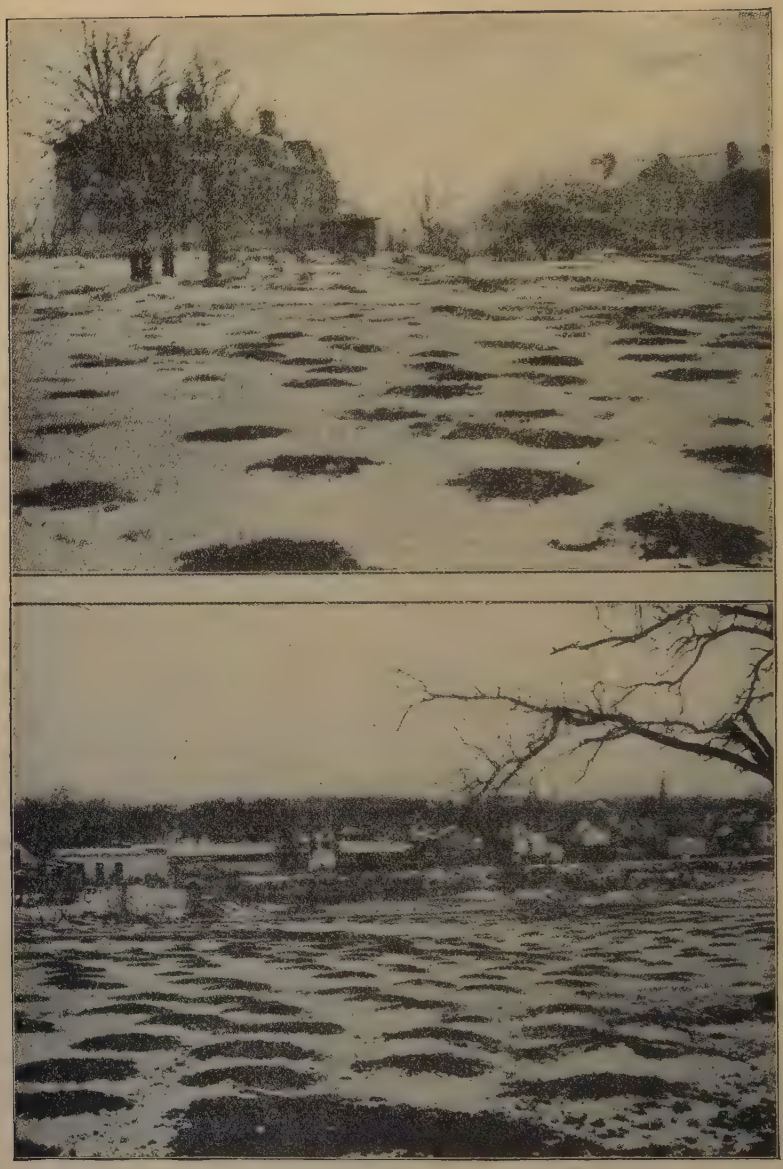

PLATE 24.

Two views of corn fields on Carroll College grounds at Waukesha. Photos were taken when snow was on the ground between the hills. By courtesy of Dr. W. L. Rankin. Reproduced also in Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 6, No. 4, plate 3.

5. The mounds explored give conclusive proof that the culture status of their authors was practically the same as that of the early historic tribes. Their social conditions, domestic and burial customs are not found to differ. They alike lived in villages, manufactured such implements as their manner of life required, depended for subsistence on agriculture and the chase; carried on a traffic with distant tribes, understood the art of war and defense and used the streams as their principal highways.

6. That the Wisconsin earthworks were erected by the

PLATE 25.

A view of garden beds near Stockbridge, Calumet Co. Photo by courtesy of Dr. Louis Falge. The rather low ridges of the beds can be faintly discerned in the photo. Reproduced also in Wisconsin Archæologist, Vol. 6, Nos. 3 and 4.

Indians is now so well established as to scarcely admit of argument. That the authors of the effigy mounds were of Siouxan stock, probably the Winnebago, is a hypothesis that appears to be well founded. The author predicts that it will be accepted as an undisputed fact, within the present generation.

7. From the evidence at hand, the occupation of Wisconsin soil can be classed in but two principal periods. The first being the effigy mound-building era, during which all classes of earthworks were constructed; second, the time elapsing since the custom of erecting imitative earthworks ceased.

In conclusion a word should be said concerning the archæological area to which the Wisconsin region is related. Thomas (1) has divided the entire mound bearing area into several districts each with a more or less marked individuality in the character of the mound remains. According to this division the area included in N. Dak., S. Dak., Minn., Wis., adjoining portions of Canada, the extreme northeastern portion of Iowa and the northern portion of Illinois constitutes what is called the "Dakotan District." The features characteristic of this area are boulder outlines, effigy mounds, linear or elongate mounds, connected series of conical mounds and long rows of conical mounds.

While these classes show various relationships that warrant this grouping they are not characteristic of the area as a whole. Boulder outlines are confined to the western portion of the area as defined. Pure effigies are chiefly confined to Southern Wisconsin and it is in this portion of the so-called Dakotan District that all the characteristic features excepting boulder outlines reach their best development.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

Certain portions of this article are here given as written in a paper on "Effigy Mounds and Mosaics in the Valley of the Mississippi" presented by the writer before the Mississippi Valley Historical Society at the annual meeting for 1910 and which will appear in the proceedings of that Society.

Many of the figures and plates illustrating this paper have appeared in various numbers of the Wisconsin Archæologist and are here reproduced by permission.

For the above favors the writer wishes to express here his thanks to the above named organizations and to the various individuals named in references and in descriptions of plates.

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THE PLACE OF THE OHIO VALLEY IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER.

Professor of History, University of Wisconsin.

[Mr. Turner, until the fall of 1910, was professor of American History in the University of Wisconsin. He is now professor of Western American History at Harvard University and the past year (1910) was president of the American Historical Association. He delivered the address herewith published at the meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, held at Frankfort, Kentucky, October 16, 1909. — EDITOR.]

In a notable essay Professor Josiah Royce, of Harvard University, has asserted the salutary influence of a highly organized provincial life in order to counteract certain evils arising from the tremendous development of nationalism in our own day. Among these evils he enumerates: First, The frequent changes of dwelling place, whereby the community is in danger of losing the well knit organization of a common life; second, the tendency to reduce variety in national civilization to assimilate all to a common type and thus discourage individuality, and produce a "remorseless mechanism—vast, irrational;" third, the evils arising from the fact that waves of emotion, the passion of the mob, tend in our day to sweep across the nation.

Against these national surges of feeling Professor Royce would erect dikes in the form of provincialism, the resistance of separate sections each with its own traditions, beliefs and aspirations. "Our national unities have grown so vast, our forces of social consolidation so paramount, the resulting problems, conflicts, evils, have become so intensified, he says, that we must seek in the province renewed strength, usefulness and beauty of American life.

Whatever may be thought of this philosopher's appeal for a revival of sectionalism, on a higher level, in order to check the tendencies to a deadening uniformity of national consolidation (and to me this appeal, under the limitations which he gives it,

seems warranted by the conditions)—it is certainly true that in the history of the United States sectionalism holds a place too little recognized by the historians.

By sectionalism I do not mean the struggle between North and South which culminated in the Civil War. That extreme and tragic form of sectionalism indeed has almost engrossed the attention of historians, and it is no doubt the most striking and painful example of the phenomenon in our history. But there are older, and perhaps in the long run more enduring examples of the play of sectional forces than the slavery struggle, and there are various sections besides North and South.

Indeed the United States is, in size and natural resources, an empire, a collection of potential nations, rather than a single nation. It is comparable in area to Europe. If the coast of California be placed along the coast of Spain, Charleston, S. C., would fall near Constantinople, the northern shore of Lake Superior would touch the Baltic, and New Orleans would lie in southern Italy. Within this vast empire there are geographic provinces, separate in physical conditions, into which American colonization has flowed, and in each of which a special society has developed, with an economic, political and social life of its own. Each of these provinces, or sections, has developed its great leaders, who in the public life of the nation have voiced the needs of their section, contended with the representatives of other sections, and arranged compromises between sections in national legislation and policy, as ambassadors from separate countries in a European Congress might make treaties.

Between these sections commercial relations have sprung up, and economic combinations and contests may be traced by the student who looks beneath the surface of our national life to the actual grouping of States in congressional votes on tariff, internal improvement, currency and banking, and all the varied legislation in the field of commerce. American industrial life is the outcome of the combinations and contests of groups of States or sections. And the intellectual, the spiritual life of the nation is the result of the interplay of the sectional ideals, fundamental assumptions and emotions.

In short the real federal aspect of the nation, if we penetrate beneath constitutional forms to the deeper currents of social, economic and political life, will be found to lie in the relation of sections and nation, rather than in the relation of States and nation.

Recently Ex-Secretary Root emphasized the danger that the States, by neglecting to fulfill their duties, might fall into decay, while the national government engrossed their former power. But even if the States disappeared altogether as effective factors in our national life, the sections might, in my opinion, gain from that very disappearance a strength and activity that would prove effective limitations upon the nationalizing process.

Without pursuing the interesting speculation I may note as evidence of the development of sectionalism, the various gatherings of business men, religious denominations and educational organizations in groups of States. Among the signs of growth of a healthy provincialism is the formation of sectional historical societies. While the American Historical Association has been growing vigorously and becoming a genuine gathering of historical students from all parts of the nation there have also arisen societies in various sections to deal with the particular history of the groups of States. In part this is due to the great distances which render difficult attendance upon the meetings of the national body today, but he would be short-sighted, indeed, who failed to perceive in the formation of the Pacific Coast Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Ohio Valley Historical Association, for example, genuine and spontaneous manifestations of a sectional consciousness.

These associations spring in large part from the recognition in each of a common past, a common body of experiences, traditions, institutions and ideals.

It is not necessary now to raise the question whether all of these associations are based on a real community of historical interest, whether there are overlapping areas, whether new combinations may not be made? They are at least substantial attempts to find a common sectional unity, and out of their interest in the past of the section, increasing tendencies to common sectional ideas and policies are certain to follow.

I do not mean to prophesy any disruptive tendency in American life by the rejuvenation of sectional self-consciousness; but I do mean to assert that American life will be enriched and safe-guarded by the development of the greater variety of interests, purposes and ideals which seem to be arising. A measure of local concentration seems necessary to produce healthy, intellectual and moral life. The spread of social forces over too vast an area makes for monotony and stagnation.

Let us then raise the question of how far the Ohio Valley has had a part of its own in the making of the nation. I have not the temerity to attempt a history of this Valley in the brief compass of this address. Nor am I confident of my ability even to pick out the more important features of the history of the Ohio Valley in our common national life. But I venture to put the problem, to state some familiar facts from the special point of view, with the hope of arousing interest in the theme among the many students who are advancing the science of history in the Ohio Valley.

To the physiographer this section is made up of the province of the Allegheny Plateaus and the southern portion of the Prairie Plains. In the region lie those rich mineral deposits which are changing the life of the section and of the nation. Although you reckon in your membership, only the States that touch the Ohio River—parts of those States are, from the point of view of their social origins, more closely connected with the Northwest on the Lake Plains, than with the Ohio Valley; and on the other hand, the Tennessee Valley, though it sweeps far toward the lower south, and only joins the Ohio at the end of its course, has been through much of the history of the region an essential part of this society. Together these rivers made up the Western World of the pioneers of the Revolutionary era; the western waters of the backwoodsmen.

But, after all, the unity of the section and its place in history were determined by the "beautiful river," as the French explorers called it—the Ohio, which pours its flood for over a thousand miles, a great highway to the West; a historic artery of commerce, a wedge of advance between powerful Indian confederacies, and rival European nations, to the Mississippi Valley;

a home for six mighty States, now in the heart of the nation, rich in material wealth, richer in the history of American democracy; a society that holds a place midway between the industrial sections of the seaboard and the plains and prairies of the agricultural west; between the society that formed later along the prairies about the Great Lakes, and the society that arose in the lower south on the plains of the Gulf of Mexico. The Alleghenies bound it on the East, the Mississippi on the West. At the forks of the great river lies Pittsburg, the historic gateway to the West, the present symbol and embodiment of the age of steel, the type of modern industrialism. Near its western border is St. Louis, looking toward the prairies, the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains, the land into which the tide of modern colonization turns.

Between these old cities for whose sites European nations contended, stand the cities whose growth pre-eminently represents the Ohio Valley: Cincinnati, the historic queen of the river; Louisville, the warder of the falls; the cities of the old National road, Columbus, Indianapolis; the cities of the Blue Grass Land, which made Kentucky the goal of the pioneers and the cities of that young Commonwealth, whom the Ohio River by force of its attraction tore away from an uncongenial control by the Old Dominion, and joined it to the social section where it belonged.

The Ohio Valley is, therefore, not only a commercial highway, it is a middle Kingdom between the East and the West, between the Northern area, which was occupied by a greater New England and emigrants from Northern Europe, and the Southern area of the Cotton Kingdom. As Pennsylvania and New York constituted the middle region in our earlier history, between New England and the seaboard South, so the Ohio Valley became the middle region of a later time. In its position as a highway and a middle region are found the keys to its place in American history.

From the beginning the Ohio Valley seems to have been a highway for migration, and the home of a culture of its own. The science of American archaeology and ethnology are too new to enable us to speak with confidence upon the origins and earlier

distribution of the aborigines, but it is at least clear that the Ohio River played an important part in the movements of the earlier men in America, and that the mounds of the Valley indicate a special type of development intermediate between that of the Northern hunter folk, and the Pueblo building races of the South. This dim and yet fascinating introduction to the history of the Ohio will afford ample opportunity for later students of the relations between geography and population to contribute to our history.

The French explorers saw the river but failed to grasp its significance as a strategic line in the conquest of the West. Entangled in the water labyrinth of the vast interior, and kindled with aspirations to reach the sea of the West, their fur traders and explorers pushed their way through the forests of the North and the plains of the South, from river to farther lake, from lake to river, until they met the mountains of the West. But while they were reaching the upper course of the Missouri and the Spanish outposts of Santa Fe, they missed the opportunity to hold the Ohio Valley, and before France could settle the Valley, the long and attenuated line of French posts in the West, reaching from Canada to Louisiana, was struck by the advancing column of the American backwoodsmen in the center by the way of the Ohio Valley. Parkman, in whose golden pages is written the epic of the American wilderness, found his hero in the wandering Frenchman. Perhaps because he was a New Englander he missed a great opportunity and neglected to portray the formation and advance of the backwoods society that was finally to erase the traces of French control in the great interior of North America.

It is not without significance in a consideration of the national aspects of the history of the Ohio Valley, that the messenger of English civilization, who summoned the French to evacuate the Valley and its approaches, and whose men near the forks of the Ohio fired the opening guns of the world historic conflict that wrought the doom of New France in America, was George Washington, the first American to win a national position in the United States. The Father of his country, was the prophet of the Ohio Valley.

Into this dominion in the next scene of this drama, came the backwoodsmen, the men who began the formation of the society of the Valley. I wish to consider the effects of the formation of this society upon the nation. And first let us consider the stock itself.

The Ohio Valley was settled, for the most part (though with important exceptions, especially in Ohio), by men of the upland South, and this determined a large part of its influence in the nation through for a long period. As the Ohio Valley, as a whole, was an extension of the upland South, so the upland South was, broadly speaking, an extension from the old middle region, chiefly from Pennsylvania. The society of pioneers, English, Scotch-Irish, Germans, and other nationalities which formed in the beginning of the Eighteenth Century in the Great Valley of Pennsylvania and its lateral extensions was the nursery of the American backwoodsmen. Along the Valley between about 1730 and the Revolution, successful tides of pioneers passed, ascending the Shenandoah, occupying the Piedmont, or up-country of Virginia and the Carolinas, and receiving recruits of similar peoples who came by eastward advances from the coast toward this old West. Thus by the middle of the Eighteenth Century a new section had been created in America, a kind of peninsula thrust down from Pennsylvania between the falls of the rivers bounding the tide water South on the one side, and the Allegheny mountains on the other.

This population was a mixture of nationalities and religions. Less English than the colonial coast, it was built on a basis of religious feeling different from that of Puritan New England, and still different from the conservative, Anglicans of the Southern seaboard. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians with the fires of the covenant in their veins; German Sectaries with serious-minded devotion to one or another of a multiplicity of sects, but withal deeply responsive to the call of the religious spirit; and the English Quakers all furnish a foundation of emotional responsiveness to religion and a readiness to find a new heaven and a new earth in politics as well as in religion. In spite of all the influence of the backwoods in diminishing the religious impulse, this upland society was a fertile field for

tillage by such democratic and emotional sects as the Baptists, Methodists and the later Campbellites, as well as by Presbyterians. Mr. Bryce has well characterized the South as a region of "High Religious Voltage," but this characterization is especially applicable to the upland South, and its colonies in the Ohio Valley. It is not necessary to assert that this religious spirit resulted in the kind of conduct, associated with the religious life by the Puritans. What I wish to point out is the responsiveness of the upland South to emotional religious and political appeal.

Besides its variety of stocks and its religious sects responsive to emotion, the upland South was intensely democratic and individualistic. It believed also that government was a contract and for the benefit of the individual. It was a naturally radical society. It was moreover a rural section not of the planter or merchant type, but characterized by the small farmer, building his log cabin in the wilderness, raising a little crop and a few animals for family use. It was this stock which began to pass into the Ohio Valley when Daniel Boone, and the pioneers associated with his name, followed the Wilderness Trace from the upland South to the Blue Grass land in the midst of the Kentucky hills, on the Ohio River. In the opening years of the Revolution these pioneers were recruited by westward extensions from Pennsylvania and West Virginia. With this colonization of the Ohio Valley, begins a new chapter in American history.

This settlement contributed a new element to our national development and raised new national problems. It took a long time for the seaboard South to assimilate the upland section. We cannot think of the South as a unit, certainly not through much of its ante-bellum history without doing violence to the facts. The struggle between the men of the up-country and the men of the tide-water, made a large part of the domestic history of the "Old South." Nevertheless, the upland South as slavery and cotton cultivation extended westward from the coast, gradually lost its individuality. On the other hand, its children, who placed the wall of the Alleghenies between them and the East, gave thereby a new life to the conditions and

ideals which were lost in their former home. Nor was this all. Beyond the mountains new conditions, new problems aroused new ambitions and new social ideals. Its entrance into the Western World was a tonic to this stock. Its crossing put new fire into its veins—fires of militant expansion, creative social energy, triumphant democracy. A new section was added to the American nation, a new element was infused into the combination which we call the United States, a new flavor was given to the American spirit.

Let us rapidly note some of the results, and first the national effects of the settlement of this new social type in the Ohio Valley upon the expansion and diplomacy of the nation. Almost from the first the Ohio Valley had constituted the problem of Westward expansion. It was the entering wedge to the possession of the Mississippi Valley, and, however reluctantly, the Eastern colonies and then the Eastern States, were compelled to join in the struggle, first to possess the Ohio, then to retain it, and finally to enforce its demand for the possession of the whole Mississippi Valley and the basin of the Great Lakes as a means of outlet for its crops and of defense for its settlements. The part played by the pioneers of the Ohio Valley as a flying column of the nation, sent across the mountains and making a line of advance between hostile Indians and English on the North, and hostile Indians and Spaniards on the South, is itself too extensive a theme to be more than mentioned. In the State which was the home of George Rogers Clark it is not necessary to dwell upon his clear insight and courage in carrying American arms into the Northwest. From the first, Washington also grasped the significance of the Ohio Valley as a rising empire, whose population and trade were essential to the nation, but which found its natural outlet down the Mississippi where Spain blocked the river and which was in danger of withdrawing from the weak confederacy. The intrigues of England to attract the Valley to herself and those of Spain to add the settlements to the Spanish Empire, the use of the Indians by these rivals, and the efforts of France to use the pioneers of Kentucky to win New Orleans and the whole Valley between the Alleghenies and the Rocky Mountains for a re-

vived French Empire in America, are among the fascinating chapters of American, as well as of Ohio Valley, history. This position of the Valley explains much of the Indian wars, the foreign relations, and, indirectly, the domestic politics of the period from the Revolution to the purchase of Louisiana. Indeed, that purchase was in large measure due to the pressure of the settlers of the Ohio Valley to secure this necessary outlet. It was the Ohio Valley which forced the nation away from a narrow colonial attitude into its career as a nation among other nations with an adequate physical basis for future growth.

In this development of a foreign policy in connection with the Ohio Valley, we find the germs of the Monroe doctrine, and the beginnings of the definite independence of the United States from the state system of the Old World, the beginning, in fact, of its career as a world power. This expansive impulse went on into the War of 1812, a war which was in no inconsiderable degree, the result of the aggressive leadership of a group of men from Kentucky and Tennessee, and especially of the daring and lofty demands of Henry Clay, who even thus early voiced the spirit of the Ohio Valley. That in this war, William Henry Harrison and the Kentucky troops achieved the real conquest of the northwest province and Andrew Jackson, with his Tennesseans, the real conquest of the Gulf Plains is in itself abundant evidence of the part played in the expansion of the nation by the section which formed on the Ohio and its tributaries. Nor was this the end of the process, for the annexation of Texas and the Pacific Coast was in a very real sense only an aftermath of the same movement of expansion.

While the Ohio Valley was leading the way to the building of a greater nation, it was also the field wherein was formed an important contribution of the United States to political institutions. By this I mean what George Bancroft has well called Federal Colonial System, that is our system of territories and new States. It is a mistake to attribute this system to the Ordinance of 1787 and to the leadership of New England. It was in large measure the work of the communities of the Ohio Valley who wrought out the essentials of the system for them-

selves, and by their attitude imposed it, of necessity, upon the nation. The great Ordinance only perfected the system.

Under the belief that all men going into vacant lands have the right to shape their own political institutions, the riflemen of Western Virginia, Western Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Tennessee, during the Revolution, protested against the rule of governments beyond the mountains, and asserted with manly independence their right to self government. But it is significant that in making this assertion, they at the same time petitioned Congress to admit them to the Sisterhood of States. Even when leaders like Wilkinson were attempting to induce Kentucky to act as an independent nation, the national spirit of the people as a whole led them to delay until at last they found themselves a State of the new Union. This recognition of the paramount authority of Congress and this demand for self-government under that authority, constitute the foundations of the Federal Territorial System, as expressed in congressional resolutions, worked out tentatively in Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784, and finally shaped in the Ordinance of 1787. Thus the Ohio Valley was not only the area to which this system was applied, but it was itself instrumental in shaping the system by its own demands and by the danger that too rigorous an assertion of either State or national power over these remote communities might result in their loss to the nation. The importance of this result can hardly be overestimated. It insured the peaceful and free development of the great West and gave it political organization not as the result of the wars of hostile States, nor by arbitrary government of distant powers, but by territorial government combined with large local autonomy. These governments in turn were admitted as equal States of the Union. By this peaceful process of colonization a whole continent has been filled with free and orderly Commonwealths so quietly, so naturally, that we can only appreciate the profound significance of the process by comparing it with the spread of European conquests through conquests and oppression.

Next let me invite your attention to the part played by the Ohio Valley in the economic legislation which shaped our his-

tory in the years of the making of the legislation between the War of 1812 and the rise of the slavery struggle. It needs but slight reflection to discover that in the area in question, the man and measures of the Ohio Valley held the balance of power and set the course of our national progress. The problems before the nation at that time were problems of internal development: the mode of dealing with the public domain; the building of roads and digging of canals for the internal improvement of a nation which was separated into East and West by the Alleghenies Mountains; the formation of a tariff system for the protection of home industries and to supply a market for the surplus of the West which no longer found an outlet in warring Europe; the framing of a banking and currency system which should meet the needs of the new interstate commerce produced by the rise of the Western surplus.

In the Ohio Valley, by the initiative of Ohio Valley men, and often against the protest of Eastern sections, the public land policy was developed by laws which subordinated the revenue idea to the idea of the upbuilding of a democracy of small landholders. The squatters of the Ohio Valley forced the passage of pre-emption laws and these laws in their turn led to the homestead agitation. There has been no single element more influential in shaping American democracy and its ideals than this land policy. And whether the system be regarded as harmful or helpful, there can be, I think, no doubt that it was the outcome of conditions imposed by the settlers of the Ohio Valley.

When one names the tariff, internal improvements and the bank, he is bound to add the title "The American System" and to think of Henry Clay of Kentucky, the captivating young statesman, who fashioned a national policy, raised issues and disciplined a party to support them and who finally imposed the system upon the nation. But however clearly we recognize the genius and originality of Henry Clay as a political leader; however we recognize that he has a national standing as a constructive statesman, we must perceive, if we probe the matter deeply enough, that his policy and his power grew out of the economic and social conditions of the people whose needs be voiced—the people of the Ohio Valley. It was the fact that in

this period they had begun to create an agricultural surplus, which made the necessity for this legislation. The nation has just celebrated the anniversary of Fulton's invention of the steamboat and the Hudson River has been ablaze in his honor, but in truth it is on the Ohio and the Mississippi that the fires of celebration should really burn in honor of Fulton, for the historic significance to the United States of the invention of the steamboat does not lie in its use on Eastern rivers; not even in its use on the ocean; for our own internal commerce carried in our own ships has had a vaster influence upon our national life than has our foreign commerce. And this internal commerce was at first, and for many years, the commerce of the Ohio Valley carried by way of the Mississippi. When Fulton's steamboat was applied in 1811 to the Western waters, it became possible to develop agriculture and to get the Western crops rapidly and cheaply to a market. The result was a tremendous growth in the entire Ohio Valley, but this invention did not solve the problem of cheap supplies of Eastern manufacturers, nor satisfy the desire of the West to build up its own factories in order to consume its own products. The Ohio Valley had seen the advantage of home markets, as her towns grew up with their commerce and manufacturers close to the rural regions. Lands had increased in value in proportion to their nearness to these cities, and crops were in higher demand near them. Thus Henry Clay found a whole section standing behind him when he demanded a protective tariff to create home markets on a national scale, and when he urged the breaking of the Allegheny barrier by a national system of roads and canals. If we analyze the Congressional votes by which the great tariff and internal improvement act were passed, we shall find that there was an almost unbroken South against them, a middle region largely for them, a New England divided, and the Ohio Valley almost a unit, holding the balance of power and casting it in favor of the American system.

The next topic to which I ask your attention is the influence of the Ohio Valley in the promotion of democracy. On this I shall by reason of lack of time be obliged merely to point out that the powerful group of Ohio Valley States, which sprang

out of the democracy of the backwoods, and which entered the Union one after the other with manhood suffrage, greatly recruited the effective forces of democracy in the Union. Not only did they add new recruits, but by their competitive pressure for population they forced the older States to break down their historic restraints upon the right of voting, unless they were to lose their people to the freer life of the West. But in the era of Jacksonian Democracy, Henry Clay and his followers engaged the great Tennessean in a fierce political struggle out of which was born the rival Whig and Democratic parties. This struggle was in fact reflective of the conditions which had arisen in the Ohio Valley. As the section had grown in population and wealth, as the trails changed into roads, the cabins into well-built houses, the clearings into broad farms, the hamlets into towns; as barter became commerce and all the modern processes of industrial development began to operate in this rising region, the Ohio Valley broke apart into the rival interests of the industrial forces (the town-makers and the business-builders), on the one side and the old rural democracy of the uplands on the other. This division was symbolical of national processes. In the contest between these forces, Andrew Jackson was the champion of the cause of the upland democracy. He denounced the money power, banks and the whole credit system and sounded a fierce tocsin of danger against the increasing influence of wealth in politics. Henry Clay, on the other hand, represented these new industrial forces along the Ohio. It is certainly significant that in the rivalry between the great Whig of the Ohio Valley and the great Democrat of its Tennessee tributary lay the issues of American politics almost until the slavery struggle.

The responsiveness of the Ohio Valley to leadership and its enthusiasm in action are illustrated by the Harrison campaign of 1840; in that log cabin campaign the Ohio Valley carried its spirit as well as its political favorite throughout the nation.

Meanwhile, on each side of the Ohio Valley, other sections were forming. New England and the children of New England in Western New York and an increasing flood of German immigrants were pouring into the Great Lake Basin and the Prairies,

north of the upland peoples who had chopped out homes in the forests along the Ohio. This section was tied to the East by the Great Lake navigation and the Erie Canal, it became in fact an extension of New England and New York. Here the Free Soil Party found its strength and New York newspapers furnished the political ideas. Although this section tried to attach the Ohio River interests to itself by canals and later by railroads, it was in reality for a long time separate in its ideals and its interests and never succeeded in dominating the Ohio Valley.

On the South along the Gulf Plains there developed the Cotton Kingdom, a greater South with a radical program of slavery expansion mapped out by bold and aggressive leaders. Already this Southern section had attempted to establish increasing commercial relations with the Ohio Valley. The staple-producing region was the principal consumer of the live stock and food products of the Ohio Valley. South Carolina leaders like Calhoun tried to bind the Ohio Valley to the chariot of the South by the Cincinnati and Charleston Railroad, designed to make an outlet for the Ohio Valley products to the Southeast. Georgia in her turn was a rival with South Carolina in plans to drain this commerce to the Gulf. In all of these plans to connect the Ohio Valley commercially with the South, the political object was quite as prominent as the commercial.

In short, the radical areas were bidding for the support of the zone of population along the Ohio River. The Ohio Valley recognized its old relationship to the South, but its people were by no means champions of slavery. In the southern portion of the States north of the Ohio where indented servitude for many years opened a way to a semi-system of slavery, there were divided counsels. Kentucky also spoke with no certain voice. As a result, it is in these regions that we find the stronghold of the compromising movement in the slavery struggle. In spite of the fact that Kentucky furnished Abraham Lincoln to Illinois, and Jefferson Davis to Mississippi, Kentucky was in reality the very center of the region of adjustment between these rival interests. Senator Thomas, of Southern Illinois, moved the Missouri Compromise, but Henry Clay was the most effective champion of that compromise, as he was the architect of the Com-

promise of 1850. The Crittenden Compromise Proposals at the eve of the Civil War came also from Kentucky and represent the persistence of the spirit of Henry Clay. In short, as I pointed out in the beginning, the Ohio Valley was a middle region with a strong national allegiance, striving to hold apart with either hand the sectional combatants in this struggle. In the cautious development in his policy of Emancipation, we may see the profound influence of the Ohio Valley upon Abraham Lincoln—Kentucky's greatest son. No one can understand his presidency without proper appreciation of the deep influence of the Ohio Valley, its ideals and its prejudices upon this great man.

Ladies and gentlemen, enough has been said to make it clear, I trust, that the Ohio Valley has not only a local history worthy of study, a rich heritage to its people, but also that it has been an independent and powerful force in shaping the development of a nation. Of the late history of this valley, the rise of its vast industrial power, its far-reaching commercial influence, it is not necessary that I should speak. You know its great men and their influence upon our own time; you know the relation of Ohio to the office of President of the United States; nor is it necessary that I should attempt to prophesy concerning the future which the Ohio Valley will hold in the nation.

In that new age of inland water transportation, which is certain to supplement the age of the railroad, there can be no more important region than the Ohio Valley. Let us hope that its old love of democracy may endure, and that this section, where the first trans-Allegheny pioneers struck blows at the forests, there may be brought to blossom and to fruit the ripe civilization of a people who know that whatever the glories of prosperity may be, there are greater glories of the spirit of man; who know that in the ultimate record of history, the place of the Ohio Valley will depend upon the contribution which her people and her leaders make to the cause of an enlightened a cultivated, a God-fearing and a free, as well as a comfortable democracy.

A VANISHING RACE.

MRS. JENNIE C. MORTON.
Frankfort, Ky.

Read by the author before the Ohio Valley Historical Association, at their meeting with the Kentucky State Historical Society in the New Capitol, October 16th, 1909.

Whether we call the Indian, North American or South American, we know the Indian race historically as a peculiar and distinctly marked people—disappearing gradually into oblivion.

An authentic history of the race has not been written, but the traditions concerning it, tinged with probability, is that the race is descended from those fierce and terrible Asiatics, the Tartars.

The pathways of the Indian, unlike any other nation of equal intelligence wandering down through the ages, are reddened with the blood of the slain, or they are smoking with human sacrifices, to gratify their horrible thirst for capture or revenge, and barbaric amusement. Students of Ethnology are agreed upon the origin of the Indian as a branch of the Asiatic people we have mentioned, because of the resemblance of some tribes on our Continent, to the Japanese in cast of feature; but the stern and forbidding statures and smileless faces of the Indian limit the resemblance, if indeed it exists.

This article is not written to reproduce in history an account of the revolting habits, customs, manners, arts and language of this strange race. Only that which arrests the attention now of civilized people in their efforts to train, control, civilize and educate it, should be dwelt upon.

However senseless to us—their arts and their ideas, their weird and wonderful fables—yet they are above our contempt, and beyond our ridicule, these brown simoons of humanity—the Indians. They have been driven from every country and every

island they have possessed—never subjugated, rarely civilized—their beginning lost in antiquity—and their end as a race so nigh, that it is reckoned by scientists and ethnologists today as they reckon an eclipse.

The genius of the twentieth century in descriptive power and picture illumination and illustration of the Indian (Edward S. Curtis), gives in his series of the North American Indian a thrilling and pathetic picture of the passing of the Indian. It is called "The Vanishing Race." In Indian file they are marching through a treeless land toward illimitable space, where the darkness deepens into blackness.

> "In their faces stern defiance
> In their hearts the feuds of ages
> The hereditary hatred
> The ancestral thirst for vengeance."
>
> —*Longfellow.*

The leader of the solemn file seems only a shadow as he steps into the awful gloom, and the others follow one by one to vanish like their leader, in the smoke of oblivion, and all-conquering silence of "the bourne from which no traveler returns."

We learn from historians of the race that it is gradually disappearing toward the setting sun. The tribes that remain, we are told, are being educated and civilized. The far west Indians in some instances adopt the American dress, cultivate the habits of the white man, become polite and polished, and a few marry Americans and are apparently christianized.

But above and around them seems to hang the shadow of the curse of hatred. There are memories they never escape from, no matter for their oft-times poetic natures, that find in nature their kindred tastes in thought and color. The Indian chief of other times painted himself in colors of the autumn leaves. Longfellow more than a half century ago decorated the Indians of the northwest with the jewels of his fancy in prodigal splendor in that wonderful poetic history and charming love story that he read so much real history to produce; along with personal acquaintance with the Indian:

"He who builds his birch canoe—
By the river
In the bosom of the forest—
And it floated on the river
Like a yellow leaf in Autumn
Like a yellow water-lily—
Paddles none had Hiawatha,
Paddles none he had or needed
For his thoughts as paddles served him
And his wishes served to guide him
Swift or slow at will he glided
Veered to right or left at pleasure."

Hiawatha was given as a model Indian, as his Princess, Minnehaha was given as a model woman of her race, queen of the Dacotahs, but those who have lived among the North American Indians, beyond the Mississippi and the Yukon, fail to find representatives of these two splendid barbaric figures in poetical literature there.

The white man can not trust the Indian, no matter for his seeming friendliness and kindness. Their frequent outbreaks of hostility, disregarding all the laws of the government and humanity, show too plainly they, as a race, are the white man's never forgiven enemy.

If we were writing a monograph, purely historical and ethnological of the Indian, we should go back to the earliest authorities upon these subjects, but this is unnecessary, in view of the splendid history of Edward S. Curtis, to whose picture we have alluded in the foregoing pages and whose history of this race is said to be the most wonderful triumph in historic, as well as pictorial art. We give his own words in the "General Introduction" to his marvelous work.

"The value of such a work in great measure will lie in breadth of its treatment, in its wealth of illustration, and in the fact that it represents the result of personal study of a people who are rapidly losing the traces of their aboriginal character, and who are destined ultimately to become assimilated with the superior race."

"The task has not been an easy one, for, although enlightened at times by the readiness of the Indians to impart their

knowledge, it more often required days and weeks of patient endeavor before my assistants and I succeeded in overcoming the deep-rooted superstition, conservatism, and secretiveness so characteristic of primitive people who are ever loath to afford a glimpse of their inner life to those who are not of their own. Once the confidence of the Indian gained, the way led gradually through the difficulties, but long and serious study was necessary before the knowledge of the esoteric rites and ceremonies could be gleaned."

The author has given study to his subject, and he has given to the world a beautiful and deeply interesting illustrated history of "The Vanishing Race."

The deer has fled, the buffaloes are gone, the bear and the panther no longer roam unchallenged the field and forest, and it is meet that the Indian should follow his companions into the wilds of oblivion, and the dark and forbidding mountain silences of nature.

It is from Washington Irving's Life of Christopher Columbus that we learn the origin of the name Indian. He says, on page three of the book: "As Columbus supposed himself to have landed on an Island at the extremity of India, he called the natives by the general appellation of Indians, which name was universally adopted before the true nature of his discovery was known, and has since been extended to all the aboriginals of the new world. He found the Indians living upon the sunny islands in a state of nature, like unto the beasts of the forest, and the inhabitants of the sea. Columbus imagined that the Indians had no system of religion, but a disposition to receive its impression, as they regarded with great reverence and attention the religious ceremonies of the Spaniards, soon repeating by rote any prayer taught them, and making the sign of the cross with the most edifying devotion. They had an idea of a future state, but limited and confused. They confess the soul to be immortal, says Peter Martyr, and having put off the bodily clothing they imagine it goes forth to the woods and the mountains, and that it lives there perpetually in caves; nor do they exempt it from eating and drinking, but that it should be fed there.

"The answering voices heard from caves and hollows, which the Latins call echoes, they suppose to be the souls of the departed wandering through those places." To this day there are Indians who believe this delusion.

We remember one summer while in Waukesha, Wis., we visited the grave mound of the Chief Waukesha, in Cutler Park, and wrote some verses concerning him and his grave. They were published and republished in the northwest, and republished in a Waukesha newspaper, "The Freeman," the following summer when we returned there for an outing. In this way a grandson and a nephew of the dead chief, for whom Waukesha was called heard of his grave and made a pilgrimage to it, and placed upon the old warrior's breast a pipe and tobacco for him to smoke when his soul wandered back to the grave, a mound of eight or ten feet in height.

In the September Register of 1905 is a history of the Indian school in Kentucky, at old White Sulphur Springs, of Scott county. It is said it was the first government school established in America for the benefit of the Indian. It was placed under the care and superintendence of Richard M. Johnson, first Congressman, and afterwards Vice-President of the United States. We learn from the history of Scott county that it flourished for a number of years, but finally was abandoned, and the Indians were sent with the Cherokees and Choctaws of Mississippi across the great divide. A son, now an Indian chief, wrote to us that his father cherished the recollection of his school days at White Sulphur, and that he loved Col. Richard M. Johnson, and had a son called for him, Richard Johnson Ross, who, he writes, was a major in the Confederate Army in 1864, and died at Carriage Point, in Chickasaw Nation. We give his eulogy upon Col. Dick Johnson, as the people of Scott county called him:

Richard Johnson was a popular man among Southern Indians after he started and opened his Indian school in Kentucky. He had a noble impulse, his heart was big, and he called Indian boys to the paths of peace and learning. Returning to their Indian homes they were stars in a dark night. Their influence was mild and always good among their people. There is a clock in the Kentucky State Historical Society, presented by Judge and

Mrs. William Lindsay, of Frankfort, once used in the Indian school at White Sulphur.

From this school sprang the missionary spirit that since has striven to win the Indian to the paths of learning, peace and prosperity. We are told by teachers in the Indian schools that many of them are men of bright minds. When they do not learn it is indifference, and not want of capacity to understand that prevents them from becoming scholars. They are naturally averse to restraint, and concentration of thought upon the learning of unknown tongues. Their teachers for ages have been their fine eyes and well trained ears. They look and listen.

"They who love the haunts of Nature
Love the sunshine of the meadow,
Love the shadow of the forest,
Love the wind among the branches
And the rain-shower and the snowstorm
And the rushing of great rivers."

We should think the heart of a race that appreciates all Nature's secrets and treasures would be subdued and gentled by the sweetness all around them. Not so. The spirit of evil triumphs over Nature—and the Indian's sign and symbol, are said to be

"Bloody hands with palms uplifted."

They leave the world their pretty conceits in regard to certain products of agriculture, for instance the Indian corn. We are told by one historian, that this maize is held in great veneration, as a special gift from the Great Spirit. It is well known that corn planting and corn gathering among some tribes are left entirely to the women and children, and a few old men. It is not generally known perhaps that this labor is not compulsory. A good Indian housewife deems this a part of her prerogative, and prides herself to have a store of corn to exercise her hospitality in the entertainment of the lodge guests.

Schoolcraft rescued from oblivion much of the legendary lore of the Indian. Upon this lore and kindred traditions much of the poetry and literature concerning the Indian has been founded. But after all they leave the land they knew not how to keep, without cities of splendid structure, magnificent monuments, or

historical literature, to tell the world of their existence. Instead we have the dressed skin of wild animals, their beadwork, and their basketry, their blankets, bows and arrows, stone hatchets and tomahawks, scalping knives and mounds, in which their people are buried, and last their tents and totem poles.

We can not better conclude their melancholy and pathetic passing away than by quoting again from Hiawatha:

"Lo' how all things fade and perish
From the memory of the old men
Pass away the great traditions,
The achievements of the Warriors
The adventures of the hunters—
All the marvelous dreams and visions
Of the Jossakoeds and Prophets—

"Great men die and are forgotten
Wise men speak their words of wisdom
Perish in the ears that hear them
Do not reach the generations
That as yet unborn are waiting
In the great mysterious darkness
Of the speechless days that shall be.

"Behold your grave-posts
Have no mark, no sign, no symbol
Go and paint them all with figures
Each one with its household symbol,
With its own ancestral totem;
So that those that follow after
May distinguish them and know them."

"And they painted on the grave posts
Of the graves yet unforgotten
Each his own ancestral totem
Each the symbol of his household."

"Figures of the bear and reindeer
Of the turtle, crane and beaver
Each inverted as a token
That the owner was departed
That the Chief who bore the symbol
Lay beneath in dust and ashes."

We learn from Hiawatha the totem pole is what, in our time, is styled a family tree. We have not the transformations represented in their figurative language, but the meaning is the same. The totem pole is the significant family history, as interpreted by the Indian tongue. There are three kinds of totems. The mortuary, historical and ancestral.

Even the Indian desires posthumous history, and would not have the chieftain, his ancestor, forgotten. Hence on their totem pole

> "Figures mystical and awful
> And each figure had its meaning."

Emmett Starr, of Chickasaw Nation, in Indian Territory, wrote us some years ago that he had written the history of his tribe, and he had their genealogy running back two hundred years. In the list of names he sent us we were surprised to find many Kentucky names familiar in our histories.

But Kentucky, once "the dark and bloody ground" of the Indians, and her name interpreted to mean this; with her history reddened with the dye of battles of the Indians and pioneers from 1769 until 1798, would be expected here and there to find a namesake among the better classes of Indians. They sometimes befriended the white pioneers, for whose courage they had great respect, and in whose humanity they are said sometimes to have reposed confidence.

Courage attracts the admiration and respect of the world, and it appeals to the heroic instinct of the Indian, who admires and envies it beyond every other quality of man or woman.

O. G. Wall, of Friday Harbor, Washington, has just published a deeply interesting history of the "Sioux Massacre" of 1862. He was a member of Captain Marsh's company, stationed at Fort Ridgely at the time, and was an eye witness of the thrilling scenes he describes. "But," he says, "even these facts were but a slight incentive to assume the arduous task of preserving the Northwestern Annals, many incidents forever lost, unless passed to the pages of history ere the final departure of the rapidly vanishing (Indian), participants in these scenes of nearly fifty years ago; for assuredly the waves of time must soon forever close over the unspoken and unwritten of that tragic period."

The stories of the merciless carnage of the Indians, their provocations to massacre, the rights and the wrongs of the Indian, are given with the skill of free hand drawing. But the Indian himself, though vanishing before the white man's power and progress, also speaks in this interesting book in his eloquent way of his fruitless history, of great deeds, grand works, such as the white man has.

Thus we see in this Vanishing Race, as in every other people, a desire to be remembered historically, and that the world should know

> "From what old ancestral Totem
> They descended — what their legends —
> And the story of their valor —
> As they travel toward the sunset."

SOME LOCAL HISTORY.

LUCY ELLIOT KEELER.

[Miss Keeler of Fremont, Ohio, has been a valued contributor to the QUARTERLY. The following, from her pen, is a delightful bit of historic sentiment, which originally appeared in *Scribner's Magazine*. — EDITOR.]

I have watched numberless persons walk around a great stone—a round stone with a hollow in the top, filled with water, where the birds come to drink—and dilate learnedly after this fashion: "Think how it was carried for thousand of years on the back of a glacier, and how it was rubbed and ground by ice and stones till its angles were worn down into this perfect sphere." All very true were this stone a boulder, but it happens to be quite another thing, a concretion, which grew round from babyhood and never had any angles to rub off. It started perhaps with a bit of shell or fish bone falling into the mud of a stream. This nucleus acted like a magnet, attracting to itself little particles of congenial matter which hugged it layer after layer like an onion; while the water above, holding iron and lime and silica in solution, percolated through the growing concretion and cemented it into a solid stone.

After such fashion does local history grow up. You take a house or bit of land, a road or a river or Indian treaty, as a nucleus; and as you read old books, newspapers, and letters; examine old maps, plans, and pictures; and as you talk with old residents—your facts form layer after layer around your centre; and as you compare and generalize and let your imagination flow over all, your house or bit of land, or road, or river, or Indian treaty grows and crystallizes into a shapely, lasting concretion of local history.

In choosing some nucleus for a study of local history, one cannot do better than begin with one's house or yard. One should trace back the several ownerships to the original grant;

discover what other buildings were ever on the place, with something about the earlier people who lived there; if Indians ever hunted on it or soldiers ever tramped over it; changes of topography; when adjacent roads were opened; and one's own family traditions. One incident will inevitably lead to another, fascinating facts will peep from every cover, and conversation will follow the trend. All one's finds should be firmly held in place by the little rivets of accurate names and dates.

Take, for instance, my own home in the heart of a busy manufacturing city of the middle West. My garden lies about midway between two ancient "cities of refuge," built by the Neutral Nation about three centuries ago. Warring tribes of the West might enter the Western city, and those of the East the Eastern, but "sanctuary" reigned within. Later my garden was part of a Wyandotte village; and during the War of 1812 two companies of British regulars, veteran troops of Wellington's Peninsular campaign, attacking a local fort, marched over where my cardinal flowers now bloom. Later a small French colony used the plot for a burying-ground. The patent for the first sale of this land was signed by Andrew Jackson, and became a part of a family tract. Sixty years ago my mother, from "down East," arrived for a visit, and penetrating beyond the reach of railroads came up the little river by boat. At the landing-place she was hoisted to a seat on her trunk in a wagon to be driven into "the woods." Three blocks from the river the wagon stuck fast in the mud, the trunk was dropped out on a hummock, and she finished her journey on foot. When she married, some years later, and the choice of any lot in town was offered her for a homestead, she selected this spot where her trunk was thrown off in the mud. After a few years the children of the growing neighborhood needed a school, so a little wooden building was erected in the rear of the yard, and there not a few of the younger grandfathers of the city learned their alphabets. Later, a pair of magnificent eagles being given to my father, the old school-house was converted into a cage. All summer the birds lived there, but one autumn day my parents opened the door and stood watching the great creatures as they rose and soared off westward. These things happened long before I was

born, but they add inexpressible interest to the place for me, and are earnest of the story and tradition which linger about your own homes if you but ferret them out.

I like to tell the little children who visit me how out in the busy street where now passes an almost constant stream of automobiles ran a clear brook in which I used to set water-wheels and catch minnows. Their eyes grow round as my age presses home, yet two generations in town still regard me as a "girl." Our Western towns grow rapidly. A dear old lady in Cleveland, who died but a few years ago, told me that she remembered her father coming in much elated to tell her mother that they had just finished counting the inhabitants, and there were 876! Ohio's largest city!

Whatever your nucleus, your concretion will rapidly outgrow your locality. The story of my lot enlarges into a history of the town and trails off down the river to old forts on the lake, and in the other direction along the famous Harrison Trail to ancient mounds, the Mississippi, and New Orleans. When a citizen of my town became a President of the United States I was plunged into the very middle of American history. Nor did it stop there, for I have but just learned of a villa of three thousand inhabitants in Paraguay, named after this local resident who as President acted as arbiter in a territorial dispute between Paraguay and Argentina. Modestly local, however, do I keep my collection of data, believing that my business in the matter is to edit just that bit of land and lore under my own charge, and make the most of it in the limited time at my disposal.

Thus as the annalist lovingly gleans the harvest fields of home, ruminating on its topographical, climatic, and scenic effects; fingering over the dress and customs of earlier denizens; wandering through rooms which birth has gladdened and death has hallowed, where infancy dreamed and where each step is on a memory; little by little she acquires the "idiom" of the place, finding it a far subtler influence in shaping thought and action than the uninitiated suspect.

There is nothing new in all this, but the simple catalogue of it may kindle the spark of a new interest in other quiet lives,

leading them to cherish the legends and customs that would otherwise be lost in historic haze. Whatever else may result from such study of "this infinite go-before of the present," it chains the student to that inspiring injunction of old Pindar which Plutarch liked to quote of those, heirs of the centuries, who

> "Do match their noble ancestors in prowess of their own
> And by their fruits commend the stock whence they
> themselves are grown."

DELAWARE IN THE DAYS OF 1812.

ALICE HILLS.

[Miss Hills is a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Delaware, Ohio, Chapter, for which she prepared the following bit of local history.]

In the war of 1812, Ohio or a part of it, was the scene of much military action in which our own country and town played no small part. Delaware, situated so nearly in the centre of the state about half way between Chillicothe, the capital and the scene of operations around Sandusky and Detroit, soon became the principal route for troops going from the Ohio River and Kentucky to the Lakes and Canada.

In February, 1813, General William Henry Harrison on his way from Cincinnati to Sandusky (now Fremont), marched with one division of his army through Chillicothe and Franklinton, following the trail along the Scioto River and south of Stratford crossed over to the Olentangy. Here in what is known as Cole's cemetery, are buried two of his soldiers who died on this march.

On reaching Delaware, the army entered the town by the principal road which skirted the river bank and which afterwards became Henry Street; they marched from there on up the street which is now Sandusky, named for the town which was Harrison's destination.

Their route through Delaware along Henry Street was just a little east of the Deer Lick, which was known to the early settlers and to the Indians as the Medicine Water but which was later called the Sulphur Spring. As this Spring was far famed for the Medicinal qualities of its waters, what was more natural than that there should be a tavern near by where travelers could rest and drink the waters.

This old tavern is interesting to us for more than one reason: besides being the point around which most of the business

and social activity of the town centered, it was of historical import as well, for Harrison made this his headquarters when he came with his army to the town.

The original tavern stood a few rods south-east of the Medicine Water on the plateau just east of the ridge which is south of the spring; and stood several rods back from the present street. At that time Abraham, or what is now University Avenue, was opened clear through the present campus to Henry Street and our old tavern stood at the intersection of the two streets.

It is small wonder, that with such a location right in the heart of the future town, being really the center of business and so near to the Medicine Water that the proprietor was justified in having great hopes and expectations for it.

The first house was a two-roomed affair facing east with a large loft, and was built of round logs chinked and daubed. In a short while a second house, two stories in height, of hewed logs was added and placed at right angles with the south end of the first building with a small space between them. In this space was the well with its curb and tall old-fashioned "well-sweep." Around at the south-east of this were the log barns and blacksmith and a double granary or corn-cribs with a space between for its many purposes. Here were tools of all kinds and descriptions, and here the hog was scalded and dressed, and the deer, raccoon and possum skinned and their hides stretched or tanned. To this place came the hunter with venison and turkey, the trapper with furs and skins, and the knapsack peddler,—the pioneer merchant—made every one happy with his wares.

The blacksmith in his abode near the stable seemed to be the village "jack of all trades" for he did everything from repairing gun-locks and making knives for the hunters, to bringing joy to the hearts of the housewives by turning off numberless articles of convenience for them.

All the town gatherings were held and all county elections took place under this historic roof where township and county work and public business of all kinds was done.

Not only was this the business center of the little settlement, but merry gatherings of young people were also held here

for amusements of all kinds and here people came for all the news.

The post-office was in the little bar, but letters were rare in those days, and for this reason travelers who were almost always sure to have something of interest to relate, were doubly welcomed by those who after the day's work was done, dropped in to spend the long evenings over the fire, chatting with their comrades and enjoying a glass of toddy and well-filled pipes.

In a few years, however, the little town began to move northward and the popular hotel, once the center of so much bustle and gayety, lost its prestige as it was so far away from the residents who lived on the North Side of Delaware Run, consequently other taverns were built on that side and the south part of the town was soon vacated and it became merely a suburb. For many years thereafter there wasn't another house to be seen there, besides the ruins of the old tannery and tavern. Now, not one of these old buildings which formed the nucleus of the first settlement, is standing and all that we know of them is what tradition has handed down.

TARHE—THE CRANE.

[The Editor of The Ohio State Archæological and Historical *Quarterly* has often received inquiries as to sources of information concerning Tarhe, the famous Wyandot chief, and also the "Half King," Pomoacan. Mr. Basil Meek, the historical writer and a frequent contributor to the columns of the *Quarterly,* has had occasion to gather these sources and we herewith publish them for the benefit of any student desiring to avail himself of these valuable references. — EDITOR.]

Please find a few facts, concerning Tarhe—the Crane, some of which may shed light upon his residence and also upon his life and character. The "Half King", Pomoacan, seems never to have been located at Lower Sandusky. Attention is called to Half King's various Indian cognomens, given below.

TARHE, OR THE CRANE.

In the Spring of 1782, according to Homer Everett in his History of Sandusky County, p. 43, citing for his authority "Heckewelder's Indian Nations," without giving page, claims that Crane rescued a young man-captive, at Lower Sandusky, after the captive had been sent by him to Half King at Upper Sandusky to be adopted, but having been rejected by Half King's wife, was returned to Lower Sandusky for burning. Thereupon Crane, he says, after an appeal to his vanity by the English traders, Robbins and Arundel located there, he rescued the captive.

But I believe the chief, who rescued this captive was not Crane, but Abraham Kuhn, the War Chief, who commanded the Lower Sandusky Wyandots at Crawford's defeat. I have not seen Heckewelder, cited by Everett. See History of the Girtys, by Butterfield, pp. 149, 150, 151.

In 1785 Tarhe's name does not appear to the treaty of Ft. McIntosh. It was signed for Wyandots of Lower Sandusky by Abraham Kuhn. Half King's name is not attached to same unless by the name, Daunghquat, which is probable.

U. S. Statutes at large, Vol. 7, pp. 16, 18.

In 1786, his name appears, with Half King's as a witness to the treaty of Ft. Finney at the mouth of the Great Miami.

U. S. Statutes at large, Vol. 7, pp. 26, 27.

Taylor's Ohio, p. 449, quoting from Butler's Journal, says: "The Wyandot Camp was on the banks of the Miami * * * * Thenceforth, private interviews, accompanied by presents, frequently occurred with Half King and Crane of the Wyandots."

In 1789 his name appears with that of Doneyenteat and others, to the treaty of Fort Harmar.

U. S. Statutes at large, Vol. 7, pp. 28, 32.

Col. E. L. Taylor, Vol. 6, Ohio Arch. & Hist. Society, Pub., p. 80, says:

"The Chief Sachem of the Wyandots as far back as * * * * June 9, 1789, was Tarhe," and on page 90, quotes from the "Freeman's Chronicle" of June 25, 1813, reporting the Harrison Council as follows: "But Tarhe (The Crane) who is the principal Chief of the Wyandots, and the oldest Indian in the western wilds appeared to represent the whole assembly."

In 1790, Tarhe rescued Peggy Fleming, a female captive, from a band of Cherokee Indians at Lower Sandusky, where it would appear, from the circumstance, that he then lived. The account of this rescue is exceedingly interesting, and is given fully in Narrative of Charles Johnston.

Drake's Indians of N. A., p. 568.

Ohio Arch. & Hist. Society Pub. Vol. XVI, p. 97.

Tarhe lived at present site of Lancaster, prior to the Greenville treaty of 1795, according to Gen. Sanderson, in an address at Lancaster in 1844, Tarhe's abode was with the Wyandots at "Tarhe Town" the present site of Lancaster in Fairfield County; after the treaty, Sanderson says, Tarhe settled at Upper Sandusky.

Howe's Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 589.

James Taylor's Ohio, pp. 160, 161.

"Tarhe, or The Crane, said to be the oldest Indian at this time in the Western Country. He lived at Upper Sandusky, about one hundred miles from the mouth of Detroit River, and

was principal chief of the Porcupine Wyandots, who resided at that place."

Thatcher's Indian Biography, Vol, 2, p. 198.

The Crane was wounded at Fort Miami.

Page 220, same work.

North American Review, Vol. 29, p. 216.

Essay on the late war, by Governor Cass.

The Malden Council.

In 1795 Gen. Wayne addressed a letter as follows: "To Tarhe, and all other Sachems and Chiefs at Sandusky," and then goes on to promise the erection of a fortification "at the foot of the rapids at Sandusky, on the reserved lands" for their protection against the Indians who adhered to the British cause. Note, that the proposed fortification, was to be erected on "reserved lands", which indicates the locality to be Lower Sandusky, that place then having "reserved lands" and the upper town had none.

While the above may not shed light upon Tarhe's residence, it does indicate that he was first in importance, in the Sandusky region, which included all the river valley, under the Indian government, known as "Sandusky."

In 1794, he was at the battle of Fallen Timber, where he was wounded. At the council previous to the battle he favored peace. He does not seem to have been the chief in command for the Wyandots, in that engagement. In fact there is no mention in history that I can find, of any Chief Commander of this nation, there; but there were a dozen Wyandot chiefs there; all were killed but Tarhe, and he was wounded. The Commanders of the other tribes are specially mentioned in the histories relating the facts of that engagement.

In 1794, in the Narrative of Jeremiah Armstrong, he says: "On arriving at Lower Sandusky, before entering the town, they halted and formed a procession * * * * to run the gauntlet. They pointed to the home of their chief, Old Crane, about 100 yards distant, so signifying that we should run into it. We did so and were received very kindly by the old chief. He was a very mild man, beloved by all."

Ohio Arch. & Hist. Society Pub. Vol. XVI, p. 42.

In 1795 his name appears at the head of the list for the Wyandots to the treaty of Greenville, August 3rd. The Half King's son's name also appears, but the Half King's name is not signed to the same, unless he was "Daugh-shut-tay-ah," which is probable, as one of his Indian aliases.

U. S. Statutes-at-large, Vol. 7, pp. 49, 53.

It is probably worthy of mention, that the facsimile of this treaty as published in Vol. XII, Ohio Arch. & Hist. Society Publications, pages 145, and 148, shows two separate groups of Wyandots, Tarhe and others in one group, and Daugh-shut-tay-ah in another, which may indicate a separate supervision as to upper and lower territory.

In 1799, according to Dr. Slocum, he resided at Upper Sandusky, and was not a very good Indian. But see the testimony of Gen. Harrison and others to the contrary.

Ohio Arch. & Hist. Society Pub. Vol. XVI, p. 314.

Harrison's Address, INFRA, p. 39.

In 1800, Tarhe, at Lower Sandusky, entertained over night Rev. J. B. Finley, according to Emil Schlup in article on "Tarhe: The Crane." He entrusted at the time, valuables to his care, which were honestly accounted for to Finley on leaving Tarhe's home.

Ohio Arch. & Hist. Society Pub. Vol. XVI, p. 133.

In 1806 he was the principal Chief of the Wyandots according to Moorehead in Ohio Arch. & Hist. Society, Pub. Vol. VII, p. 99, also see Gen. Harrison's address in "Aborigines of the Ohio Valley," Fergus Historical Series Number Six, p. 39, who speaks of him as the Grand Sachem of the Wyandots and of his high character.

He seems to have lived at Lower Sandusky in 1806, according to the diary of Rev. Joseph Badger, a Missionary, among the Indians at Lower Sandusky. Under date of May 14, 1806, on his return to Lower Sandusky, from a visit to Michigan he says that here he found the Indians gathered together attending to their prophet, who was pointing out several of their women to be killed as witches, and that he got Crane, the Chief, to stop the prophet, and wait for an interpreter and the women

were saved. I am not quoting literally, but substantially from this diary.

In the winter of 1812, Jacob B. Varnum, Indian Agent at Lower Sandusky, having been appointed Postmaster, went to Bloomville, Huron County, to a Justice of the Peace to be sworn in. While there he suggested to the Justice, Israel Harrington, who was afterwards associate judge of Sandusky County, that he, at once, remove to Lower Sandusky, for the safety of himself and family, in the war soon to occur (1812) and said: "Tell the Crane you come from me."

Tract 51 W. R. His. Society.

In 1812, 1813 and 1814, he was at Upper Sandusky.

Drake's Indians of N. A. p. 626.

McAfee's History of Late War (1812) pp. 353, 445.

Contract in Birchard library hereto attached.

He died at Upper Sandusky in 1818, according to Emil Schlup. Ohio Arch. & Hist. Society Pub. Vol. XIV, p. 134.

Also Howe's Coll. Vol. 2, p. 894.

But see schedule, Treaty of 1817, parcelling Wyandot reservation, where "Yourowquaws, or the widow of the Crane," is mentioned. Tarhe, the Crane, must, therefore, have died before 1818. His name is not to the treaty of 1817.

U. S. Statutes-at-large, Vol. 7, pp. 160, 168.

He was alive in 1815, however, for he signed with Walk-in-the-Water, the treaty at "Spring Wells," near Detroit, Sept. 8, 1815.

U. S. Statutes-at-large, Vol. 7, pp. 131, 132.

In 1814, he had signed treaty at Greenville of July 22, same Vol., pp. 118, 119.

We know that the Wyandot was the leading nation in the Western confederacy, and held the grand Calumet, and that Tarhe the Crane, became the Grand Sachem, and leader of this Nation before the Tecumseh uprising, and so continued until his death, but just when he became such, is hard to tell. He certainly was ever held in high esteem, in the Councils of the tribes as before mentioned. After the treaty of Greenville in 1795 and probably about 1800, his permanent abode seems to have been at the Upper town, with a shifting or temporary abode or

lodge, at the lower town, where we find him before then, occasionally, as early as 1790 and probably earlier, and at the later dates mentioned, in the interests of his people, at the lower town. See copy of Contract of 1814, in Birchard Library, in regard to lands, doubtless held by him in trust, as Grand Sachem for his nation.

It may here be noted, that after the cession of the two-mile square tract at the lower rapids — especially after the Greenville Treaty in 1795, when dispute ended, no "official" Indian residence there, would of right, have been recognized by our government.

Tarhe, probably, was not distinguished so much as a war chief, though a brave warrior in time of war, in battle, as he was for his dignity of character as a wise head of his nation, and chief of the confederacy, during his day, while holding the grand Calumet. In this respect he was regarded with much reverence, similar probably, to that bestowed by the Six Nations upon the Atarto of the Onondagas of that confederacy. In the Six Nations there were 50 Sachems or principal chiefs, who formed the government, all equals, but a peculiar dignity was ever attached to the Atarto of the Onondagas, which nation in that confederacy was not unlike that of the Wyandots in the Western.

Parkman's Jesuits; Introduction LIV, LVII.

It would seem that taking the war matters and the treaties mentioned together, up to, or shortly after the close of the Wayne Campaign, and the interval of peace that followed, that there was "Half King" by his various Indian names of Pomoacan, Doonyoutat, Doanquod, Dunquat, Daunghquat Zhaus-sho-toh, and probably other aliases, acting for the Upper Sandusky Wyandots, while Tarhe and Abraham Kuhn specially represented the Lower Sandusky Wyandots. That Zhaus-sho-toh was one of Half King's names. See Crawford's campaign by Butterfield, pp. 166, 172, 184, 206, 207. Especially p. 194. "Zhaus-sho-toh, *or* Half King."

The name Pomoacan was given the Half King by the Delawares.

Drake's Indians of N. A. note to pp. 531.

It may not be amiss to here state that the Half King mentioned in the text of Drake, pp. 531, 532, died in 1754. See same author, p. 747, Title "Half King." See letter herewith from American Bureau of Ethnology as to name of that Half King. Also Irving's Works, Life of Washington, Part One, pp. 147, 148, and foot note citations.

The name "Sandusky" was generic, and sometimes used with reference to forts and localities along the waters of the Sandusky River and Bay, by historians, without designation as to whether upper or lower rapids, or the bay were intended. Fort Stephenson was known as Fort "Sandusky" until occupied by Col. Stephenson. Other forts on these waters were thus named. The medals voted to Croghan are stamped "Sandusky." Traders and others in their correspondence, sometimes used "Sandusky" only, when upper or lower was evident from the contents.

See Meek's History of Sandusky County, p. 76. "Interesting old Letters."

(Literal Copy from Original, in Birchard Library, Fremont.)

"Conditions of an agreement between the Wiandot Chief (Crain) under the immediate directions of William Walker sub Indian agent at Upper Sandusky and Morris A. Newman at Lower Sandusky made the twenty-second day of October 1814 as follows (towit) the said Indian Chief (Crain) hereby constitute and appoints the said Morris A. Newman his agent to act and to dispose of timber and stone (& for other purposes) upon the lands belonging to the said Nation of Indians in the vicinity of Lower Sandusky, Ohio, on the following conditions towit: for stone by the Load or pearch at twelve and half cents each and all timber on the following conditions or rates, that is, for Cabin Logs fifteen feet square, a sufficient number to raise it one story high three Dollars eighteen feet one story and half four dollars and twenty feet square (five dollars) one story and half; and all timber for clabboards punchons and shingles and for such purposes is hereby left to said Newman's own Judgment as to their value What grass that may be cut on the lands aforesaid shall be at One dollar per acre and all

wood used for the burning of lime at twenty five cents per cord It is also the further conditions of said agency that said Newman will not suffer any trespass on the Land aforesaid without giving information thereof to the chief aforesaid the said Newman agrees that all the monies arising under said agency he will punctual pay over to said Chief.

In testimony whereof the said parties have hereunto set their hands the day and year before mentioned."

his
"TARHA ✕ ALIAS CRAIN"
mark
CHIEF WIANDOTT NATION"

Witness
"JOSEPH VANCE"
"WM. WALKER"

THE HALF KING — POMOACAN.

We know that the principal seat of the Wyandots upon their return about 1700, from exile, was near Detroit; and the Sandusky and other settlements were, in the nature of Colonies.

James Taylor's Ohio, p. 38.

When the war upon the frontiers began to assume a serious aspect, their Half King (Pomoacan) took up his temporary abode at Upper Sandusky.

Butterfield's Crawford-Campaign, pp. 161, 162, 168, 190, 329.

Pomoacan was then a great chief, usually called "Half King."

Same work, p. 180, and foot note, and p. 190.

In 1782 he was Half King; same work, pp. 190, 191, 194.

Washington-Irvine Correspondence, Note 6, page 18.

Heckewelder's Narrative p. 235, note.

James Taylor's Ohio, pp. 339, 340, 351, 352, 421.

Under his Indian aliases (See them mentioned above) he must have occupied the Upper town during the Revolutionary War and Border War Periods, and exercised his jurisdiction from there over the Sandusky Valley region, until the close of the wars. Lower Sandusky at the head of navigation for large

water crafts, was a place of strategic importance; hence the war chief, Kuhn, was most probably located there during the same periods. As to this Chief, see

James Taylor's Ohio, p. 352, et seq.

Heckewelder's Indian Nations, pp. 162, 163.

History of the Girtys, pp. 149, 150, 151.

Furthermore,—if this confederacy was similar in its form to that of the six Nations, which is probable, as has been mentioned, two war chiefs might be chosen with equal powers to conduct wars. Here, presumably, one at the Upper waters, and one at the lower waters of Sandusky.

Ohio Arch. & Hist. Society Pub. Vol. XVI, p. 431, and notes — "Propositions" IX and X.

It seems that the peace Sachem, was subject to these war chiefs, except in the matter of making peace.

"Half King" seems to have disappeared from historic mention in 1812 or that war, and Tarhe, the Crane, appears to the front, with the Sandusky Wyandots siding with the Americans. The Detroit Wyandots with Walk-in-the-Water sided with Tecumseh and the British

Drakes N. A. Indians, pp. 626, 627.

See page 12.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

OCTOBER, 24, 1910.

DEAR SIR:—Your communication of October 7 has been referred to Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt of this Bureau, who states, in answer thereto, that

> "The designation of 'Half King' had its origin in the colonial policy of the Six Nations who placed in conquered territories subject tribes under the viceregency of an officer, i. e., a chief, who presided over the local affairs of the said subject tribes; but who referred all matters of a federal nature to the great federal Council of the Six Nations at Onondago. The Six Nations had subject

tribes on conquered lands in the Susquehanna valley and in the Ohio valley; and they placed Shikillimus as the first viceregent over the tribes of the Susquehanna, and at his death, he was succeeded by his son. In the Ohio valley, Tanacharison* was the first viceregent, and when he died he was succeeded by Scarroyadi. These, in view of the fact that the colonists and interpreters were accustomed only to imperial titles, were designated by the name of 'Half King.' The French and Indian war and the Revolution resulted in the practical independence of the subject tribes who were not absorbed into the organization of the Six Nations, and so the colonial organization came to naught. The Wyandot 'Half King' was so called from analogy with the officer so-called in the Ohio valley, because he ruled over several remnants of tribes in the territory of the state of Ohio."

Very truly yours,

J. W. Hodel,
Ethnologist-in-Charge.

Mr. Basil Meek,

Secretary, Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Association, Fremont, Ohio.

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* Death of Tanacharison. — See Drake's Indians of N. A. Notes, etc., page 747, "Half-King."

GENERAL HARMAR'S EXPEDITION.

BY BASIL MEEK, FREMONT, OHIO.

JOSIAH HARMAR was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1753, and there died in 1813. He was a captain in the First Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Army, Lieutenant Colonel of the same and served till the close of the Revolutionary War. He was in Washington's army from 1778 to 1780. In 1783 he was made Brevet Colonel, First U. S. Regiment. In 1787 he was breveted Brigadier General, by Congress, and assigned to duty in northwest. He became General-in-Chief of the army, 1789-1792, resigning the latter year. General Harmar was Adjutant General of Pennsylvania, 1793-1799, and was active in raising and equipping soldiers of the state for Wayne's campaign against the Indians in the Northwest.

Spain, France and England, as we know, contended for dominion over the country of the Northwest, basing their respective claims upon discovery and settlement, but as it would seem the principal ground of contention was more that of occupation than discovery. According to the principle maintained by civilized nations regarding the territorial acquisition by discovery, it was not sufficient as among themselves, to discover alone, but such discovery must be followed by actual settlement or occupancy. Discovery gave only the right initiate; occupancy must follow to consummate it.

But there was another power asserting rights to sovereignty, whose claim could not be entirely ignored by the contending powers mentioned. This consisted of the native inhabitants, the North American Indians, whose rights, if occupancy governed, were paramount to all others. They considered themselves to be the rightful owners of the land from which they had sprung. According to their traditions and belief, they were, so to speak, indigenes, their first ancestors having, as a noted Indian chief once said; "Come up out of the ground." They knew nothing

of the laws of civilized nations, and never had been permitted to have their "day in court," where their claims could have been, or were, represented for them, and their rights determined after a fair hearing. That they should feel not disposed to be dispossessed of what they sincerely believed to be their just possessions without their consent is not to be wondered at.

But according to the rule maintained by civilized nations, occupancy by savage people, gave only a qualified right as against discovery by civilized powers; complete sovereignty, with the right of disposition, was denied them; and their rights acquired by occupancy might be superseded or destroyed by conquest or forced purchase.

Discovery by the civilized was superior to occupancy by the savage upon the ground, it has been claimed, that the Creator could never have designed that a comparatively few savages should monopolize for hunting grounds an extent of territory capable of supporting many millions of civilized people.

Our American doctrine maintained that the Indians had no complete fee in the lands occupied by them, but only a qualified vested right, by occupancy, which however could only be invaded in just wars or extinguished by treaty, but like the other civilized powers, our government denied to the savages unrestricted dominion; and in its dealings and treaties with them, these principles were applied, and no complete title to lands was recognized in the savages, unless by express grant from the government.

The treaty of Paris in 1783, following the Revolutionary war, did not bring peace with the Indian tribes of the Northwest; and though outwardly peace existed with all the civilized nations, the war continued with the Indians. Their claims and rights, whatsoever they were, had not been recognized or in any way settled, in the treaty with England and the other powers of 1783. The British, meanwhile, kept on good terms with the Indians, and intrigued with them, and encouraged them in these hostilities against the Americans, which continued with savage fury. Murderous incursions by the Miamis and confederate tribes from the Maumee and western country, and by the Wyandots and their immediate allies from the Sandusky valley, were

frequent, attended with characteristic savage cruelties. It was believed that British officers at Detroit furnished the Indians with arms and supplies on occasion of the Harmar expedition, of which we are writing.

The principal western tribes claimed that they had not been parties to the treaty of Fort McIntosh in 1785, and were not bound by its provisions, respecting boundary lines; that they were rightfully, as original occupants of the soil, entitled to the unrestricted dominion over the Northwest, and that no white settlements should be made therein, and any already made should be destroyed. During the years 1787, 1788 and up to 1789, ravages on the frontiers by the hostile tribes were frequent. The Federal authorities in the meantime, were vainly endeavoring to negotiate with these Indians, and come to some peaceable terms, by which settlers might be suffered to remain unmolested in their homes, and that other settlements might be made, within the disputed territory. The ultimatum of the Indians was unrestricted title to the Ohio River line.

Finally at Fort Harmar, January 9th, 1789, by the treaty with all the nations, the treaty of Fort McIntosh, as to boundaries, was reaffirmed with the concession to the Indians, "that the individuals of said nations shall be at liberty to hunt within the limits ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably or offer no injury or annoyance to any of the subjects or citizens of the United States." It will be remembered that the Six Nations had ceded all their claims to these lands to the United States in 1784, by the treaty at Fort Stanwix.

The Shawnees had by treaty made at the mouth of the Great Miami, at Fort Finney, January 3rd, 1786, ceded to the United States all territory acquired by it, by treaty with Great Britain, and placed themselves under the jurisdiction and protection of the United States.

The peace following the treaty at Fort Harmar was of very short duration. Hostilities by the western Indians was renewed within a few months thereafter, and by the summer of 1790 the raids of the Indians had become unbearable.

Fresh robberies and murders were committed every day

in Kentucky or along the Wabash and Ohio. Writing to the Secretary of War, a prominent Kentuckian, well knowing all the facts, estimated that during the seven years which had elapsed since the close of the Revolutionary war, the Indians had slain fifteen hundred in Kentucky itself, or on the immigrant routes leading thither, and had stolen twenty thousand horses, besides destroying immense quantities of other property. In the meantime a number of ineffectual attempts to conduct expeditions into the enemy's country were made.

The Federal generals were also urgent in asserting the folly of carrying on a merely defensive war against such foes. All the efforts of the Federal authorities to make treaties of peace with the Indians which they would keep had failed. The Indians themselves had renewed hostilities after making treaties as we have seen and the different tribes had one by one joined in the war, behaving with a treachery only equalled by their ferocity. With great reluctance the National government concluded that an effort to chastise the hostile savages could no longer be delayed, and those on the Maumee and on the Wabash, whose guilt had been peculiarly heinous, were singled out as the objects of attack.

On June 7, 1790, General Knox, Secretary of War, in a letter to General Harmar, directed him to consult with Governor St. Clair upon the means of effectually extirpating these bands of murderers, and outlining plans of an expedition for that purpose, but leaving the details of the expedition to the Governor and to General Harmar.

On July 15th, 1790, at Fort Washington, the present site of Cincinnati, where he had arrived from Kaskaskia, Governor St. Clair, in consultation with General Harmar, determined to send a strong expedition against the Indians, located in their towns above the headquarters of the Wabash; and having been, by General Washington, President of the United States, vested with authority to call for one thousand militia from Virginia, and five hundred from Pennsylvania, he accordingly addressed circular letters to several of the County Lieutenants of the western counties of those states. Virginia, of which Kentucky then formed a part, was called upon to furnish the following

number of men, to rendezvous at Fort Steuben, on the 12th of September: Nelson County, 125, Lincoln, 125, and Jefferson, 50, total 300. To rendezvous at Fort Washington, September 15th, Madison County, 125, Fayette County, 200, Bourbon, 125, Woodford, 85, and Mason, 40, total 700.

Pennsylvania was requested to furnish the following number to assemble at McMahen's Creek, four miles below Wheeling, September 3rd: Washington County, 220, Fayette, 210, West Moreland, 110, Allegheny, 60, total 500.

The regular United States troops in the west, were estimated by General Harmar at four hundred effective men. With these the militia were to act in concert. The manner of employing the whole force was arranged as follows: Three hundred of the Virginia militia were ordered to rendezvous at Fort Steuben, and with the garrison of the fort, to march to Vincennes and join Major Hamptramck, who had orders to call for aid from the militia of Vincennes, and to move up the Wabash and attack any of the Indian villages on that river, to which his force might be equal. The remaining twelve hundred of the militia were ordered to assemble at Fort Washington, and to join the regular troops at that post under the command of General Harmar.

The militia from the counties of the Kentucky district, in Virginia, began to assemble at the mouth of the Licking river, about the middle of September. They were poorly equipped; their arms generally bad and unfit for service, and the men were almost destitute of camp kettles and axes. General Harmar, however, in the midst of many difficulties, began to organize them. In the course of two or three days they were formed into three battalions, under Majors Hall, McMullen and Ray, with Lieutenant Colonel Trotter at their head. The Pennsylvania militia arrived at Fort Washington about the 24th of September. They were badly equipped, and among them many substitutes of old infirm men, and young boys. They were formed into one battalion with Major Paul, under Lieutenant Colonel Truby: and four battalions of militia were placed under the command of Colonel John Hardin, subject to the command of General Harmar. The regular troops were formed into two small bat-

talions under Major Pleasgrave Wyllys and Major John Doughty. The company of artillery which had three pieces of ordnance was commanded by Captain William Ferguson. A small battalion of light troops or mounted militia was placed under the command of Major James Fontaine. The whole of General Harmar's command may be stated as follows:

Three battalions, Virginia Militia, one battalion Pennsylvania militia, and one battalion light troops mounted, in all of the militia, 1133; and 320 regulars in two battalions, making the total number of his troops 1453 men.

On September 26th, the militia, under the command of Colonel Hardin, moved from Fort Washington, and advanced into the country, in order to find for the cattle and to open a road for the artillery. The regular troops under General Harmar, marched on the 30th of September, and joined the militia on the 3rd of October, when the order of march was arranged in the manner shown on page 80 herein.

The daily movements of the army were recorded in a manuscript journal, which was kept by Captain John Armstrong of the regulars, which is here given as follows:

"September 30th, 1790, the army moved from Fort Washington at half past ten o'clock, A. M., and marched about seven miles N. E. Course. Encamped on a branch of Mill Creek.

"October 1st. Took up the line of march at half past eight o'clock. At four o'clock halted for the evening, having marched about eight miles; general course a little to the westward of north.

"2nd. Moved forty-five minutes after seven o'clock. Marched about ten miles, a northwest course. The first five miles were over a dry ridge to a lick; then five miles through a low swampy country, to a branch of the waters of the Little Miami, where we halted one hour; and forty-five minutes after one o'clock moved on for five miles, and encamped on a muddy creek, a branch of the Little Miami, one mile from Colonel Hardin's command.

"3rd. The army moved at eight o'clock; passed Colonel Hardin's camp and halted at Turtle Creek, about ten yards

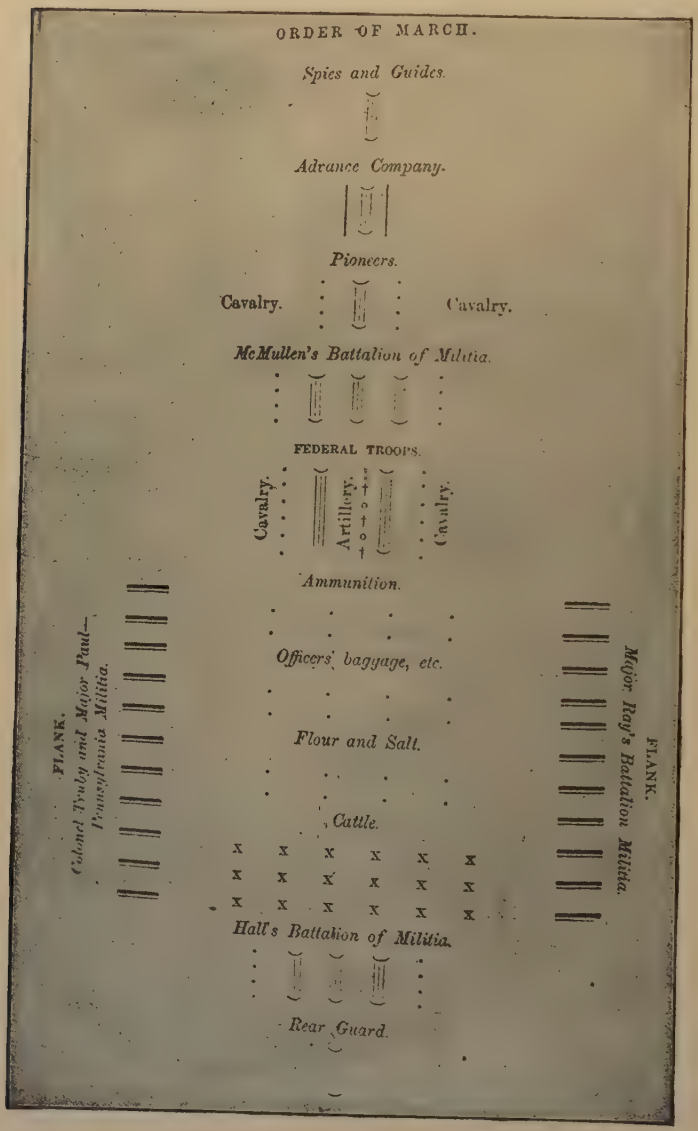


DIAGRAM FROM "DILLON'S HISTORY OF INDIANA."

wide, where we were joined by Colonel Hardin's command. Here the line of march was formed. — Two miles.

"4th. The army moved at half past nine o'clock * * * *, and at three o'clock crossed the Little Miami, about forty yards wide; moved up it one mile, a north course to a branch called Sugar Creek. Encamped. — Nine miles.

"5th. The army moved from Sugar Creek forty-five minutes after nine o'clock. Marched through a level county a N. E. course up the Little Miami, having it in view. * * * * Halted at five o'clock on Glade Creek, a very lively clear stream. — Ten miles.

"6th. The army moved ten minutes after nine o'clock. The first five miles the country was brushy and somewhat broken; reached Chillicothe, an old Indian village; recrossed the Little Miami; encamped at four o'clock on a branch. — Nine miles, a northeast course.

"7th. The army moved at ten o'clock; the country brushy for miles, and a little broken until we came to the waters of the Great Miami. Passed through several low prairies and crossed the Pickaway fork of Mad River, which is a clear lively stream about forty-five yards wide; encamped on a small branch one mile from the former; our course, the first four miles, north, then northwest. — Nine miles.

"8th. The army moved at half past nine o'clock. Passed over rich land, in some places a little broken. Passed several ponds and through one small prairie. A northwest course. — Seven miles.

"9th. The army moved at half past nine o'clock. N. W. course. Passed through a level rich country, well watered, course N. W. Halted half past four o'clock, two miles south of the Great Miami. — Ten miles.

"10th. The army moved forty-five minutes after nine o'clock, crossed the Great Miami. At the crossing there is a handsome prairie on the S. E. side; the river about forty yards wide; * * * * halted on a large branch of the Great Miami at half past three o'clock; the general course N. W. * * * * — Ten miles.

"11th. The army moved at half past nine o'clock; marched a northwest course seven miles, to a branch where French traders had a number of trading houses; thence a north course four miles, to a small branch and encamped at five o'clock; * * * * — Eleven miles.

"12th. The army moved at half past nine o'clock. Our course a little to the W. of N. W. Crossed a stream at seven miles and a half, running to the N. E., on which there are several old camps, much deadened timber, which continues to the river Auglaize, about a mile. Here has been a considerable village. Some houses still standing. This stream is a branch of the Omi (Maumee) River, and is about twenty yards wide. From this village to our encampment our course was a little to the N. of W. Rich land. — Fourteen miles.

"13th. The army moved at ten o'clock. Just before they marched, a prisoner was brought in, and Mr. Morgan from Fort Washington joined us. We marched to the W. of N. W. four miles, to a small stream, through low swampy land; thence a course a little to the N. of W., passing through several small prairies and open woods to an Indian village, on a pretty stream. Here we were joined by a detachment from Fort Washington with ammunition. — Ten miles.

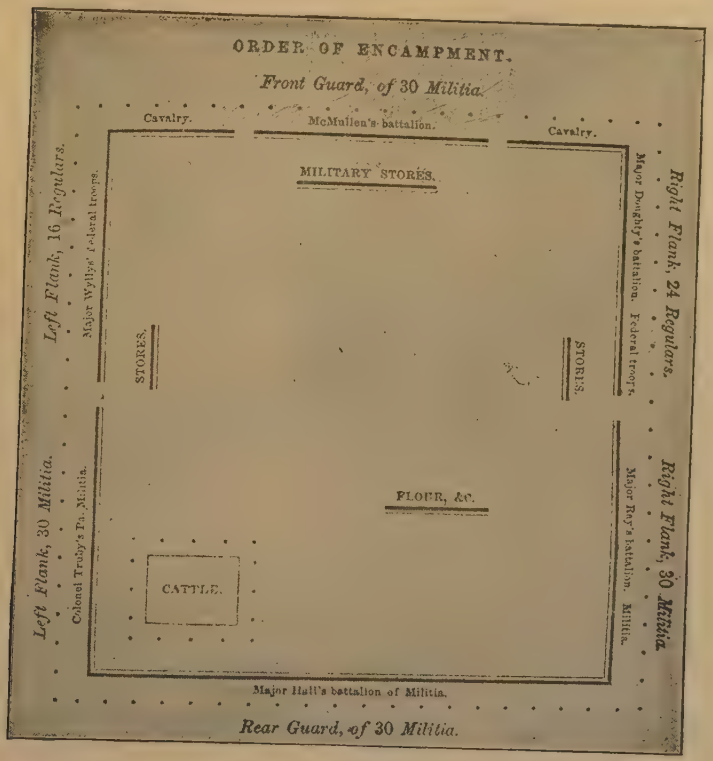
"14th. At half past ten in the morning, Colonel Hardin was detached for the Miami village, with one company of regulars and six hundred militia; and the army took up its line of march at eleven o'clock, a N. W. course. Four miles, a small branch; the country level; many places drowned lands, in the winter season. — Ten miles.

"15th. The army moved at eight o'clock. N. W. course. * * * * The army halted at half past one o'clock on a branch running west. — Eight miles.

"16th. The army moved at forty five minutes after eight o'clock. Marched nine miles and halted fifteen minutes after one o'clock; passed over a level country not very rich. Colonel Hardin, with his command, took possession of the Miami town yesterday (15th) at four o'clock, the Indians having left it just before. — Nine miles.

"17th. The army moved at fifteen minutes after eight

o'clock, and at one o'clock crossed the Miami river to the village. The river is about seventy yards wide, a fine transparent stream. The river St. Joseph, which forms the point on which the village stood, is about twenty yards wide, and when the waters are high is navigable a great way up it.



"On the 18th I, (Armstrong) was detached with thirty men under the command of Colonel Trotter. On the 19th Colonel Hardin commanded in lieu of Colonel Trotter. Attacked about one hundred Indians, fifteen miles west of the Miami village, and from the dastardly conduct of the militia, the troops were obliged to retreat. I lost one sergeant and twenty-one out of thirty men of my command. The Indians on this occasion gained a complete victory, having killed in the whole, near one

hundred men, which was about their number. Many of the militia threw away their arms without firing a shot, ran through the federal troops, and threw them into disorder. Many of the Indians must have been killed as I saw my men bayonet many of them. They fought and died hard." Here ends the journal of Captain Armstrong.

On the 18th, the following general orders were published:

"CAMP AT THE MIAMI VILLAGE, Oct. 18, 1790.

"The General is much mortified at the unsoldier-like behavior of many of the men in the army, who make it a practice to straggle from the camp in search of plunder. He, in the most positive terms, forbids this practice in the future, and the guards will be answerable to prevent it. No party is to go beyond the line of sentinels without a commissioned officer, who, if of the militia, will apply to Colonel Hardin for his orders. The regular troops will apply to the general. * * * * The rolls are to be called at troop and retreat beating, and every man absent is to be reported. * * * * The army is to march tomorrow morning early for their new encampment at Chillicothe, about two miles from here.

"JOSIAH HARMAR, *Brigadier General.*"

On the arrival of General Harmar at the Miami village, about two-thirds of the militia dispersed in search of plunder. The "Chillicothe" referred to by General Harmar was a Shawnee village.

On the morning of the 19th, a detachment under the command of Colonel Hardin marched a northward course on the Indian path, which led toward the Kickapoo towns; and after passing a morass about five miles distant from the Miami village, the troops came to a place where on the preceding day a party of Indians had encamped.

At this spot the detachment made a short halt, and the commanding officer stationed the companies at points, several rods apart. From here the detachment moved on without receiving orders to make any arrangements for an attack; and when Captain Armstrong informed Colonel Hardin that the

fires of the Indians had been discerned, Colonel Hardin believed that the Indians would not fight, and rode in front of the advancing columns, until the detachment was fired on from behind the fires. The militia, with the exception of nine, who remained with the regulars and were killed, immediately gave way, and commenced an irregular retreat, which they continued until they reached the main army. Hardin, who retreated with them, made several unsuccessful efforts to rally them. The small band of regulars obstinately brave, maintained their ground until twenty-two were killed. Captain Armstrong, Ensign Hartshorne and five or six privates escaped from the carnage, eluded the pursuit of the Indians, and arrived at the camp of General Harmar.

The number of the Indians engaged on this occasion has been variously estimated. Captain Armstrong placed the number at one hundred, while Colonel Hardin estimated it at one hundred and fifty. They were commanded by the distinguished Miami chief, Mish-e-ken-o-quoh, which signifies, Little Turtle. The ground on which this action took place is about eleven miles from Fort Wayne, near the crossing of Eel River, by the Goshen State road.

On the morning of the 19th the main body of the army under Harmar, having destroyed the Miami village, moved about two miles to the Shawnee village, Chillicothe, which, after being destroyed, was left on the 21st, at ten o'clock, A. M., the army marching about seven miles on the route to Fort Washington and encamped. Here, at the urgent request of Colonel Hardin, General Harmar sent back a detachment of four hundred men. Accordingly, late on the night of the 21st, a corps of three hundred and forty militia and sixty regular troops, under command of Major Wyllys, were detached that they might gain the vicinity of the Miami village before day break, and surprise any Indians who might be found there. The detachment marched in three columns. The regular troops were in the center, at the head of which Captain Joseph Ashton was posted, with Major Wyllys and Colonel Hardin in the front. The militia formed the columns to the right and left. Owing to some delay, occasioned by the halting of the militia, the detachment

did not reach the banks of the Maumee till some time after sunrise. The spies then discovered some Indians, and reported to Major Wyllys, who halted the regular troops and moved the militia on some distance in front, where he gave his orders and plan of attack to the several commanding officers of the corps. General Harmar reserved to himself the command of the regular troops. Major Hall, with his battalion was directed to take a circuitous route around the bend of the Maumee River, cross the St. Mary's, and there, in the rear of the Indians, wait till the attack should be brought on by Major McMullen's battalion. Major Fontaine's cavalry, and the regular troops under Major Wyllys, were all ordered to cross the Maumee at and near the common fording place. It was the intention of Hardin and Wyllys to surround the Indians' encampment; but Major Hall, who had gained his position undiscovered, disobeyed his orders, by firing on a single Indian before the commencement of the action. Several small parties of Indians were soon seen flying in different directions, and the militia, under McMullen, and the cavalry, under Fontaine, pursued them in disobedience of orders, and left Major Wyllys unsupported. The consequence was, that the regulars, after crossing the Maumee, were attacked by a superior force of Indians and compelled to retreat with the loss of Major Wyllys and the greater part of their corps. Major Fontaine, at the head of the mounted militia, fell, with a number of his followers in making a charge against a small party of Indians; and on his fall, the remainder of his troops dispersed. While the main body of the Indians, led by Little Turtle, were engaged with the regulars near the bank of the Maumee, some skirmishing took place near the confluence of the rivers St. Marys and St. Josephs, between detached parties of Indians and the militia under Hull and McMullen. After the defeat of the regulars, however, the militia retreated on the route to the main army; the Indians having suffered a severe loss did not pursue them. As soon as the news of the defeat of the detachment reached the camp of Hardin, he immediately ordered Major Ray to march with his battalions to the assistance of the retreating parties; but so great was the panic which prevailed among the militia, that only thirty men could be in-

duced to leave the main army. With this small number, Ray met Colonel Hardin, on his retreat. On reaching the encampment, Hardin requested of Harmar that the main army be sent back to the Miami village. This request General Harmar refused, on the ground of lack of forage, and inability to move the baggage. He also claimed that the Indians had received a good scourging, and should they think proper to follow him, he would keep the army in perfect readiness to receive them. The general at this time had lost all confidence in the militia. The bounds of the camp were made less, and at eight o'clock on the morning of the 23rd, the army took up the line of march for Fort Washington, which was reached on the 4th day of November. The army had lost one hundred and eighty-three killed, and thirty-seven wounded. Among the killed were the following officers: Major Wyllys and Lieutenant Ebenezer Farthingham of the regular troops; and Major Fontaine, Captains Thorp, McMurtrey and Scott; Lieutenants Clark and Rogers, and Ensigns Bridges, Sweet, Higgins and Thielkeld of the militia.

A considerable number of the regulars of General Harmar's army had followed Washington and other generals in the War of the Revolution. The killed of his little army were buried in the low bank of the Ford of the Maumee, the present site of Fort Wayne. General Harmar had lost the best of the militia, and of the regulars; and was forced to struggle homeward to Fort Washington as best he could, a greatly disappointed commander. It was indeed a dreary march. The militia became nearly ungovernable, so that at one time Harmar reduced them to order only by threatening to fire on them with the artillery. He had, however, succeeded sufficiently to, in some measure, remove the sting of his defeat, by the destruction of the villages, crops and other property of the enemy, and the killing of many of the warriors.

On October 20th, 1790, Governor St. Clair, from Fort Washington, wrote the Secretary of War concerning the result of the expedition, in which he said:

"I have the pleasure to inform you of the entire success of General Harmar at the Indian towns on the Miami and St. Joseph rivers, of which he has destroyed five in number and a

very great quantity of corn and other vegetable provisions." And on November 6th, he writes: "On the 20th of last month, I had the honor to inform you, generally, of the success that attended General Harmar. I could not then give you the particulars, as the General's letters had not reached me; it is not necessary now, because he writes himself. One thing, however, is certain, that the savages have got a terrible stroke, of which nothing can be a greater proof than that they have not attempted to harass the army on its return. They arrived at this place on the 3rd instant, in good health and spirits." It may be well said to the optimistic Governor that he could "Wrest victory out of defeat!"

Notwithstanding the loss to the Indians, they became more than ever angry; all the western tribes made common cause with the Miamis, and banded together in more open warfare. Their murderous raids on the frontiers continued and increased in numbers, so that the settlers were kept in constant fear of the tomahawk and scalping knife. Subsequent history relates the further measures and expeditions necessary to subdue the savages and bring peace to the harassed frontiers; but these are not within the limits of this article. But it may be mentioned, however, that in the spring of 1791, the President appointed Governor St. Clair Major General and placed him in command of the army. Colonel Richard Butler was promoted to general and placed second in command. It was resolved to make another campaign against the Indians in the summer. General Harmar, smarting under what he considered to be unjust criticisms upon his conduct of the expedition, demanded a Court of Inquiry, which was granted by General St. Clair, Commander in Chief, with General Richard Butler president, and Colonels Gibson and Darke members. (State papers military affairs, Vol. I, pages 20 to 36.)

The court sat at Fort Washington, beginning September 15, 1791, and spent several days examining the testimony. On October 3rd General Butler transmitted to General St. Clair the proceedings and finding of the Court of Inquiry. The finding of the Court was highly honorable to General Harmar, (Vol. II St. Clair Papers, p. 251) fully exonerating him from

any blame in regard to the expedition. On the inquiry, the principal witnesses in their testimony attributed the failure of the expedition to the insubordination of the militia. General Harmar declined to take part in the proposed St. Clair expedition, resigned from the army and returned to his home in Philadelphia.

In the preparation of the foregoing, the following works have been freely drawn upon, "History of Indiana," by Dillon; "Winning of the West," by Col. Roosevelt, and "The St. Clair Papers," by Smith.

GENERAL HARMAR'S JOURNAL.

Diary of General Harmar from the Draper MSS., by courtesy of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

(Draper MSS. "W" Harmar's Papers, Vol. II, pp. 335-348 incl.)

"*Wednesday, Sept.* 8th, 1790.—Fort Washington, H. Qrs. Capt. McCurdy arrived here this morning at daybreak, & left the same morning at half past eleven o'clock on his way to Fort Knox at Post Vincennes.

"*Sunday, Sept.* 12th.—This afternoon a Captain—2 subs—3 serjeants & 30 privates arrived, & encamped on the margin of the Ohio, the lower Side of Licking. They are militia from Mason County.

"*Wednesday, Sept.* 16th.—Lt. Col. Hall arrived this morning at the mouth of Licking with 102 militia from Bourbon county.

"*Thursday, Sept.* 17th. — *Col. Hardin* & St. Col. Comt. *Trotter* arrived this morning. The militia assembled are from the following counties, viz: Fayette, Mercer, Bourbon, Madison, Woodford & Mason.

"*Saturday, Sept.* 25th. — Major *Doughty* with the militia & Federal troops arrived at the garrison this day.

"*Sunday, Sept.* 26th. — This day the Kentucky militia, & *Major Paul* with part of the Pennsylvania Militia marched & encamped about 4 miles from the garrison. Rained almost incessantly during the whole night.

"*Monday, Sept.* 27th. — Rainy day — retards our movement.

"*Tuesday, Sept.* 28th. — Still cloudy & Rainy.

"*Thursday, Sept.* 30th. — Marched this morning at eleven o'clock, & encamped about 7 miles from Fort Washington, on the waters of Mill Creek. Hilly country, but fine rich land; spice bushes in abundance. Course N. E. by E.

"*Friday, Oct*r. 1st, 1790. — Very fine day; marched thro' rich level ground, well watered, but thick of underbrush; encamped on the waters of Mill Creek—course N. by E. This day's march about 9 miles. Col. *Truby* with the cattle left at Fort Washington arrived and encamped with us this evening — formed a square encampment.

"*Saturday, Oct*r. 2d. — Weather very fine. Marched & encamped upon the waters of the Little Miami, through rich land generally, but we passed over some but middling: encamped in a rich bottom in the military range, one mile in the rear of the militia under Colonel *Hadin*. This day's march about 13 miles, & a N. E. course.

"*Sunday, Oct*r. 3d. — Marched about two miles and joined *Colonel Hardin* — encamped on Turkey Creek on the waters of Little Miami early, about 10 o'clock in the morning, & spent the day in making arrangements for the order of March, &c., &c. We are about 31 miles from Fort Washington on *Clark's Old Trace.*

"*Monday, Oct*r. 4th. — Marched about eleven miles & crossed the Little Miami — course about N. E. by E. Several horses lost last night, supposed to be stolen by the Indians. Encamped on Caesar's Creek, two miles from the Little Miami, in a square.

"*Tuesday, Oct*r. 5th. — Marched & encamped on Glady Creek —— course about North — 10 miles — 52 from Ft. Washington: Generally bottom land, a few small prairies we crossed.

"*Wednesday, Oct*r. 6th. — Marched about 10 miles & encamped on the waters of the Little Miami, about 3 miles north of *Old Chillicothy*: Recrossed the Little Miami — passed through two or three beautiful prairies: 62 miles from Ft. W. Lieut. Frothingham with a few Federal, & Capt. Hall (or Hale) with a reinforcement of militia joined me this evening. Sharp frost last night — the first of the season.

"*Thursday, Oct*r. 7th. — Marched about 9 miles & *encamped*

on Mad River, alias the *Pickaway Fork* of the *Great Miami.* Good country — 71 miles from Ft. W.: course a little W. of N.

"*Friday, Oct^r.* 8^th.^ — Rainy — marched about 9 miles & encamped within 13½ or 14 miles of the Great Miami — course a little W. of N. — about 80 miles from F^t.^ W. — good country.

"*Saturday, Oct^r.* 9^th.^ — Rainy, disagreeable weather — marched & encamped within 3½ miles of the Great Miami: About 90 miles from F. W. Course a little W. of N.

"*Sunday, Oct^r.* 10^th.^ — Clear, cool weather. Crossed the Great Miami at *New Chillicothe* on its banks — Course W. of N. distance from F. W. about 100 miles. Several tracks of Indians discovered this day — encamped on a branch of the Great Miami. Frost at night.

"*Monday, October* 11^th.^ — Cool weather. Passed through a place called *The French Store,* situated on the waters of the Great Miami, & encamped on the same small waters: About 12 miles this day, & 112 from F. W. A level poor country, white oak land, badly watered: course about N. W.

"*Tuesday, Oct^r.* 12^th.^ — Cloudy. Passed another *New Chillicothy,* at which is *Girty's* house, situated on Glaze Creek or Branch of the Omee, which empties into Lake Erie — & encamped about 7 miles to the N. W. of it — about 125 miles from F. W. Course nearly N. W. — level poor land, very badly watered.

"*Wednesday, Oct^r.* 13^th.^ — Disagreeable day. Encamped on a branch of the Omee near La Somer's old house, about 135 miles from F. W. Course to the W. of N. W. Very level country, but badly watered. This morning a Shawanoese was taken prisoner by the horse. Mr. Morgan arrived this morning.

"*Thursday, Oct.* 14^th.^ — Rainy, disagreeable day. Detached Col. Hardin with a corps of 600 men before me to the towns this morning. The army marched & encamped about 145 miles from F. W. Very badly watered country — course, a little to the W. of N. W.

"*Friday, Oct^r.* 15^th.^ — Cleared in the afternoon; Encamped on the waters of Omee, about 153 miles from F. W. Course about N. W. We have travelled through a very level country

since we crossed the Great Miami, but amazingly badly watered. This day's march we had the sight several times of water.

"*Saturday, Oct^r.* 16^th.^ — Fine, clear weather. The Savages have evacuated (with the traders) their favorite Miami Village & towns. March & encamped about 163 miles from F. W. They have left, Col. Hardin informs me, a great quantity of corn and vegetables behind. Level country — very badly watered — course nearly W.

"*Sunday, Oct^r.* 17^th.^ — Clear weather. Gained the Miami Village about noon this day. It is beautifully situated between the Rivers Miami and St. Joseph, and is about 170 miles from F. W. Course nearly due W. this day. But in a direct line I question whether it is more than 100 miles from the fort. The traders and savages have retired from it in the utmost consternation, leaving behind them vast quantities of corn and vegetables, supposed 10,000 bushels in ears.

"*Monday, Oct^r.* 18^th.^ — Cloudy, & like for falling weather. Rode to *Chillicothy,* a Shawanoe Village, distant about two miles from camp, & situated on the Omee — contains about 80 houses & wigwams. A vast quantity of corn and vegetables hid in various places, holes, etc. Two Indians killed & scalped this day by the calvary, & one killed at night by Capt. McLure. A great number of horses lost last night.

"*Tuesday, Oct^r.* 19^th.^ — The party under command of *Col. Hardin* was worsted this day about ten miles from hence, by about 100 or 130 Indians, owing to the shameful cowardly conduct of the militia who threw away their arms and would not fight. The loss is considerable — *Capt. Armstrong* & the chief part of the Federal part of the Federal troops are supposed to have fallen a sacrifice.

"*Wednesday, Oct^r.* 20^th.^ — Fine weather. Capt. *Armstrong* got in this day much fatigued — 24 of the Federal troops killed & missing, & of the militia — Total ————. Completed burning & destroying the several towns with their corn, &c. this day. The regular troops were shamefully left in the lurch by the militia the day before yesterday. (?)

"*Thursday, Oct^r.* 21^st.^ — Fine weather — Indian summer. Having completed the destruction of the Maumee Towns (as

they are called), we took up our line of march this morning from the ruins of *Chillicothy* for Ft. Washington. Marched about 8 miles — detached Major *Wyllys* with 60 Federal & about 300 militia back to where we left this morning, in hopes he may fall in with some of the savages.

"*Friday, Oct^r.* 22^nd^, — Fine weather. The detachment under Major Wyllys & Col. Hardin performed wonders, although they were terribly cut up. Almost the whole of the Federal troops were cut off, with the loss of Major Wyllys, Major Fontaine, & L^t^ Frothingham — which is indeed a heavy blow. The consolation is, that the men sold themselves very dear. The militia behaved themselves charmingly. It is supposed that not less than 100 warriors of the savages were killed upon the ground. The action was fought yesterday morning near the *old fort* & up the river St. Joseph. The savages never received such a stroke before in any battle that they have had. The action at the Great Kanhawa, &c. was a farce to it.

"*Saturday, Oct^r.* 23^d^. — Indian Summer. Took up our line of march this morning at 8 o'clock & encamped about 24 miles from the ruins of the Maumee Towns, or the Miamii Village. This day's march about 16 miles — much encumbered with our wounded men.

"*Sunday, Oct^r.* 24^th^. — Cloudy & like for rain. Sent off Mr. Britt early this morning before we started (express) to the Governor at Ft. W. Marched about 11 miles this day, & 35 miles from the ruins of the M. Towns — encamped on the waters of the Omee near La Somce's old home.

"*Monday, Oct^r.* 25^th^. — Cold, rainy disagreeable weather. Passed through a prairie about 4 or 5 miles in length, & encamped at *Chillicothy* near *Girty's* house on Glaze Creek or River, about 52 miles from the ruins of the M. Towns. Snow at night.

"*Tuesday, Oct^r.* 26^th^. — Clear, cold weather. Encamped at a place called the *French Store,* the farthest the Kentuckians have ever penetrated the Indian country this way. Fine food, blue grass, &c. for our horses. It is about 64 miles distant from the ruins of the Maumee Towns. It is situated on a branch of the Great Miami.

"*Wednesday, Oct^r.* 27^th.^ — Fine, clear weather. Passed through one of our old encampments 7 miles from the French Store and a great branch of the Miami, & encamped at *New Chillicothy* on the banks of the Great Miami 7 miles further (& supposed to be what *Hutchins* is his Map called Tawixtive) — a beautiful prairie about 3 miles from the Great Miami before we reached it. This day about 78 miles from the ruins of the Maumee Towns.

"*Thursday, Oct^r.* 28^th.^ — Like for falling weather. Marched from *New Chillicothy* & encamped about 16 miles from it, & 94 from Ft. W. We have now got into a different kind of country, finely watered (Symmes' Purchase): From New Chillicothy to Miamii Village is the most level & the poorest watered I have ever seen.

"*Friday, Oct^r.* 29^th.^ — Very rainy, disagreeable day. Marched through a succession of beautiful prairies; passed two branches of Mad River, & encamped on the waters of the Little Miami near the where the militiamen were flogged — about 110 miles from the ruins of the Maumee Towns. Finely watered, excellent country.

"*Saturday, Oct^r.* 30^th.^ — Marched about 4 miles & halted for two hours at *Old Chillicothy,* on the eastern side of the Little Miami, in order to refresh our horses. Then immediately came into a large prairie (better than a mile) — marched through it & encamped on Glady Creek, the waters of the Little Miami (land belonging to Col. Hardin) about 8 miles from *Old Chillicothy,* & about 122 miles from the ruins of the Maumee Towns.

"All these *Chillicothys* are elegant situations —fine water near them and beautiful prairies. The Savages knew how to take a handsome position as well as any people upon earth. When they leave one Chillicothy, they retire to another place & call it after the same name. We are now in the Virginia Officers' Lands.

"*Sunday, Oct^r.* 31^st.^ — Fine, clear weather — Indian summer. Marched & halted a little while at what is called *Sugar Camp,* about 5 miles — from thence to Caesar's Creek, a branch of the Little Miami, 3 miles. Thence crossed the Little Miami

(Symmes' Purchase again) 1 mile & halted 4 miles to the S. W. of it, about 135 miles from the ruins of the Maumee Towns.

"*Monday, Novr.* 1st. — Fine, warm weather. Marched 5 miles to Turkey Creek, a branch of the Little Miami. From thence to the *Bridge* on Muddy Creek 3 miles — from thence 3 miles further: 146 miles from the ruins of the M. Towns.

"*Tuesday, Novr.* 2d. — Fine weather. Marchd. by the Big Lick & encamped on the waters of Mill Creek about 7 miles from Ft. W., & 159 miles from the ruins of the M. Towns. A great deal of white oak land in this day's march.

"*Wednesday, Novr.* 3d. — Marched and gained Fort Washington 7 miles, & about 166 miles from the ruins of the Maumee Towns — having in 5 weeks accomplished the destruction of the Maumee Towns, with the vast quantity of corn, &c. therein, & slain upwards of 100 of their warriors, but not without considerable loss on our side — about 180 Federal & militia.

"*Thursday, Novr.* 4th — Fine weather. Busy in discharging the Militia.

"*Friday, Novr.* 5th. — The Kentuckians set off for their respective homes yesterday.

"*Saturday, Novr.* 6th. — *Sunday, Novr.* 7th. Lt. Denny set off at rev. beat. Major *Doughty* with the Penna. militia ascended the Ohio this afternoon for the Muskingum.

"*Monday, Novr.* 8th. — Fine weather. The Governor & family also ascended the river this morning for Muskingum.

"*Thursday, Novr.* 18th. — Early this morning detached Lt. Kersey with a small party as far as the bridge on Muddy Creek with the Shawanoe prisoner, from that place to set him at liberty & let him run to his nation.

"*Saturday, Novr.* 20th. — Lt. Kersey returned this morning, taken the Shawanoe as far as the bridge, who parted from him seemingly with regret.

"Col. *Mentzes,* Inspector, arrived here this morning, in a Ky boat, with Lt. McPherson of Capt. *Trueman's* detachment & 57 Federal troops.

"*Novr.* 24th. — Capts. *Trueman* & *Cushing* arrived.

"*Novr.* 25th. — Capt. *Armstrong* & Ens. *Hartshorn* start for Vincennes.

"*Monday, Nov^r.* 29^th.^ — An express arrived from Col. *Todd* & Col. *Johnson,* County Lieutenants in Kentucky, informing that the people are desirous of carrying on another expedition against the Savages (to strike the Weau Towns) — wishing my consent. I have returned them a favorable answer, & despatched Cadet *Armstrong* with 500 lb^s.^ powder, & 1000 lb^s.^ lead & some provisions, to be lodged at the mouth of the Kentucky river for the use of the militia upon the proposed expedition.

"*Tuesday, Nov^r.* 30^th.^ — Capt. *Ballard Smith* & *Lieut. Spear* arrived at the garrison this evening — the former from the Rapids — the latter from Post Vincennes."

MAJOR FERGUSON'S REPORT.

Major Ferguson's report of General Harmar's expedition, made to Richard Butler, Esquire, Major General and President of the Court of Enquiry, now sitting.

(Draper MSS. "U" Frontier Wars, Vol. IV, pp. 47-56, and 58-61 incl.)

SIR: — I have duly considered the objects which now employ your attention and investigation: the following is a just detail of the transactions of the late Companies as far as came within my knowledge. Some time about the 15^th^ July it was determined to carry on an Expedition against the Miamie Villages. 1000 Militia from Kentucky and 500 from Pennsylvania with what could be collected of the 1^st^ U. S. Reg^t.^ and one Company of artillery was to form the army.

The Militia from Kentuckey began to assemble at Fort Washington about the middle of September, these were very ill equiped, being almost destitute of Camp Kittles and axes, nor could a supply of these essential articles be procured. Their arms were generally very bad and unfit for service. I being Commanding Officer of Artillery, they came under my inspection in making what repairs the time would permit, and as a specimen of their badness am to inform the court, that a Riffle was brought to be repaired without a Lock and another without a stock; I asked them what induced them to think these guns could be repaired at that time, and they gave me for answer that they were told in Kentuckey that all repairs would be made at Fort Washington; Many of the officers told me that they had no idea

of the there being half the number of bad arms in the whole District of Kentucky as was then in the hands of their men. As soon as the principal part of the Kentucky Militia arrived, the General began to organize them, in this he had many difficulties to encounter. Col. Trotter aspired to the command (altho Col. Hardin was the eldest officer) and in this he was encouraged both by men & officers, who openly declared unless Col. Trotter commanded them they would return home; After two or three days the business was settled & they were formed into three battalions under the command of Col. Trotter, and Col. Hardin had the command of all the Militia. As soon as they were arranged, they were Mustered, crossed the Ohio and on the 25th March and encamped about ten miles from Fort Washington.

The last of the Pennsylvania Militia arrived on the 25th Septr. These were equipped nearly as the Kentuckey, but were worse armed, several were without any. The Genl. ordered all the arms in store to be delivered to those who had none, and those whose guns could not be repaired.

Amongst the Militia were a great many hardly able to bear Arms, such as old infirm men, and young boys. They were not such as might be expected from a frontier country, viz. The smart active woodsmen, well accustomed to arms, eager and alert to revenge the injuries done them and their connections: No, there were a great number of them substitutes who probably had never fired a gun. Major Paul of Pennsylva told me that many of his men were so awkward that they could not take their gun locks off to oil them and put them on again, nor could they put in their Flints so as to be useful; and even of such materials the numbers came far short of what was ordered, as may be seen by the Returns.

On 31st Septr. the Genl. with the Continental Troops marched from Fort Washington to join Col. Harden who had advanced into the country for the sake of feed for the cattle & to open the Road for the Artillery. On the 3rd. the whole army joined, and was arranged in order of March, Encampment & Battle, these will appear by the orderly Book, with this difference in the Encampment; this space we were to occupy when in order

of Battle (which was to be open) was always to be fitted up with our fires, nor was any intervals to be left between Battalion; this was done to prevent in some measure the cattle & horses from getting out of Camp, and the Centinels Ground Camp had orders not to let the cattle or horses pass out after dark; just before which time they were brought within our fires. These precautions aided by the care and industry of Mr. Wells & his assistants succeeded well in preventing loss of Cattle; I have been informed there were only two Oxen lost from the time the whole army took up the line of march until it returned to Fort Washington. But I am sorry to say it was not the case with the Pack Horses, the generality of the people employed in that department were ignorant of their duty, Indolent and inactive; nor was it the power of the General to remedy these defects, the shortness of the time for assembling & organizing the Army put it out of his power to look about and select fit characters, he was of course obliged to take those that offered, after he was in the woods it was out of his power to exchange them for better & punishments for neglect of duty was out of the question. The principles on which the horses were employed induced the drivers (who were chiefly parties in the business) to loose & otherwise destroy them, rather than return them to their owners, by this means the proprietors had a high appraisement paid them for their horses and daily pay for services untill they were lost, by adding to the above the negligence of Centinels, I account for the number of Horses lost which in my opinion was out of Gen. Harmar's power to prevent. After the Army was arranged we continued our march without any material occurrence untill the 13th when the Horse fell in with two Indians & took one of them prisoner, who informed that the Indians were not in force at the Mamie Village. This day we reached a place called the French Store at which place a French man who was then with the General as a guide, had lived, he informed that the Village was about ten leagues distant. From this place on the morning of the 12th, Col. Hardin was detached with 600 men to endeavor to surprise the Mamie Village, the Army moved at the same time, and altho' it rained the whole day we continued our march with diligence untill late, the horses

were ordered to be tied up this night to enable the Army to move early the next day which it did; this diligence of the Army on its march induces me to believe the General was endeavoring to guard against any disaster that might happen to Col. Harden, which I am of opinion would have been in his power, for Col. Harden had not gained more than four miles of the army in the first days march. On the 17th the Army arrived at the Mamie Village, here were evident signs of the enemy having quitted the place in the greatest confusion. Indian dogs & Cows came into our Camp this day which induced us to believe the families were not far off. A party of 300 men with three days' provisions under the command of Col. Trotter was ordered (as I understood) to examine the country round our Camp, but contrary to the Generals orders returned the same evening, this conduct of the Colonel did not meet the Generals approbation, and Col. Hardin anxious for the character of his countrymen wished to have the command of the same detachment for the remaining two days which was given him. This command marched on the morning of the 19th & was the same day shamefully defeated: Col. Hardin told me that the number which attacked him did not exceed 150 and that had his people fought or even made a shew of forming to fight he was certain the Indians would have run; But on the Indians firing (which was at a great distance) the Militia run numbers throwing away their arms, nor could he ever rally them. Major Rhea confirmed the same. I do not know what influenced the General to make the detachment on the 21st. But from the enemy being flushed with success on the 19th, it became necessary, if in his power, to give them a check to prevent the army from being harrassed on its return, which they might have done, will readily be granted by everyone who has the least knowledge of the Indians, and an Army encumbered with cattle & Pack horses much worn down: and altho the detachment was not so fortunate as was reasonably to have been expected, yet I firmly believe it prevent the savages from annoying our rear, as the never made their appearance after. With respect to reporting that detachment which consisted of four hundred chosen Troops I always believed them superior to 150 Indians which was the greatest number as yet discovered;

had it not been for misconduct & disobediance of orders by the officers who was on the command. I understood that Major Rheas Battalion had been advanced to cover them which was as many as could possibly have been spaired, taking into view that those in Camp could not be depended on, & many were without arms, having thrown them away. To support with the whole army was impracticable, the pack horses being weak and greatly reduced in numbers; the Artillery Horses being much reduced and unable to undergo much more fatigue, but at the certain loss of the Artillery. As it was, we were obliged to send to Fort Washington for horses to assist in hauling it in. The march of the Army was regular and as well conducted as was possible to be done with Militia.

With respect to the General's conduct report says he was intoxicated all the Campain and unable to execute the important duties of his Station. I have mentioned my commanding the Artillery which was posted at the head of the center Column, and here the General chiefly was during the march, of course. I had an opportunity of seeing and being with him through the day in the morning I received my orders from him and when we halted to encamp he chiefly pointed out the ground where the Artillery should be posted, my duty called me often to his Tent before we marched in the morning and after we halted in the evening; in short had he been given to Drunkeness I had as good an opportunity of seeing it as any other officers in the Army, yet I do declare that from our leaving Fort Washington untill our return I never seen Genl. Harmar intoxicated or so as to render him unfit for the execution of any duties: In him and his abilities as an officer I placed the greatest confidence never doubting in his orders but obeying with chearfulness being conscious they were the production of experience and sound judgment.

I am sir
Your Most Obedient Humble Servant
W. Ferguson, *Major.*

STATEMENT OF ENSIGN BRITT.

To Major General Butler, President of the Court of Enquiry, Fort Washington.

Being called upon to relate the circumstances attending General Harmar's expedition against the Maumee Indians; the following have come particularly under my notice.

With respect to the personal conduct of General Harmar, I knew that he was indefatigable in making arrangements for the execution of the plans which had been formed for the expedition; and know also that the difficulties were great which he had to encounter in Organizing the Militia, and endeavoring to establish that harmony which was wanting in their Commanding officers, Colonels Hardin & Trotter which he accomplished apparently to their Satisfaction. He was at all times diligent in attending to the conduct of the Officers in the different departments of the Army, and was always ready to attend to such occurrences as were consequent to the same—and the necessary exertions to have his orders carried into execution were not wanting—but there were great deficiencies on the part of the Militia—either owing to the want of authority in some of their Officers, or from their Ignorance or inattention. Indeed the generality of them Scarcely deserved the name of anything like Soldiers. They were mostly substitutes for others—who had nothing to Stimulate them to their duty.

As to the disposition for the Order of March, form of encampment, and Order of battle; they are matters which I being a young Officer can say little about. I presume they will answer for themselves.

The General's motives for detaching Col. Hardin on the 14th October, when he was told we were but 10 Leagues from the Indian Town—I supposed to be from information he received by a prisoner who was taken on the 13th. That the indians at the Maumee Village were in great consternation and confusion—and the prospects were they might be easily defeated if found in that Situation. In order to support this detachment, the Horses of the army were ordered to be tied up at night, so that the whole army might be ready to march early in the morning; which was done accordingly and when Colonel Hardin reached

the Village the main body was not more than 5 or 6 miles in his rear.

The detachment under Col°. Trotter was ordered to reconnoitre for 3 days the neighborhood, to endeavor to find out the Savages, who had fled from their Towns—this party returned the evening of the same day they Started—and next morning Col. Hardin marched with the same party and fell in with the Indians, and an engagement ensued in which he was routed—Owing to the cowardly behaviour of the Militia under his command.

The motives which I conceived led to the detaching the party under Major Wyllys on the 21st Were that the Indians having avoided engaging the whole army, would collect at their Towns and harrass the rear and flanks, as much as possible on its return; and a Stroke at them before they could assemble in large bodie would prevent their doing it with much effect. The party accordingly met with the Indians and a battle followed, in which numbers were killed on both sides. The moment the news of this arrived in Camp, Major Ray with his Battalion of Kentucky militia was ordered to March to the support of Major Wyllys; but did not proceed far before they returned.

Any Occurrences that followed this last action I am unacquainted with, as I was sent from the Army with dispatches for his Excellency Govr. St. Clair then at this place.

Fort Washington, Septr. 16th, 1791.

D. Britt, Ensign 1st U. S. Regt.

DIARY OF LIEUTENANT DENNY.

Fort Washington, September 16th, 1791.

The honorable
Major General Butler
President of Court of Enquiry.

(Draper MSS. "U" Frontier Wars, Vol. IV, pp. 25-33 incl.)

Sir: Agreeably to your directions I present the court with the following detail of circumstances relative to the campaign carried on by General Harmar against the Maumee Towns:

July 11th, 1791 Governor St. Clair arrived at Fort Washing-

ton from the Illinois country, he remained only three days, during which time it was determined that General Harmar should carry on an expedition against certain hostile tribes of Indians, for which purpose, I understand, he was to have 1000 Militia from Kentucky & 500 from Pennsylvania with all the federal troops on the Ohio.

15th. The Governor embarked for New York, intending, on his way, to order out the Militia as soon as possible; I believe the 15th of September was the appointed time for the army to assemble at Fort Washington.

General Harmar began his preparations, and every day was employed in the most industrious manner. The calculations for provisions, horses & stores were immediately made out, & orders given accordingly. Great exertions were used by Captn. Ferguson to get in readiness the artillery & military stores, & indeed every officer was busily engaged under the eye of the General in fitting out necessary matters for the expedition, but particularly the quarter master—not a moment's time appeared to be lost.

15th & 16th of Sept. The Kentucky Militia arrived, but instead of seeing active rifle men, such as is supposed to inhabit the frontiers, we saw a parcel of men, young in the country, and totally inexperienced in the business they came upon, so much so, that many of them did not even know how to keep their arms in firing order. Indeed their whole object seemed to be nothing more than to see the country, without rendering any service whatever — a great many of their guns wanted repairs, & as they could not put them in order, our artificers were obliged to be employed — a considerable number came without any guns at all. Kentucky seemed as if she wished to comply with the requisitions of Government as ineffectually as possible, for it was evident, that about two-thirds of the men served only to swell their number.

19th Sepr. A small detachment of Pennsylvania militia arrived.

22nd. The Governor returned from New York.

25th. Major Doughty with two companies of federal troops joined from Muskingum, & the remains of the Pennsylvania Mi-

litia came this day — the Militia last mentioned were similar to the others — *too many substitutes.* The General lost no time in organizing them, tho he met with many difficulties. The Colonels were disputing for the command, & the one most popular was least entitled to it. The General's design was to reconcile all parties, which he accomplished after much trouble. The Kentuckians composed three Battalions under the Majors. Hall, McMillion & Rhey, with L^t^. Col. Coml. Trotter at their head. The Pennsylvanians were formed into one Battalion under Lieut Col. Truby and Major Paul, the whole to be commanded by Colonel John Hardin, subject to the orders of Genl. Harmar.

26^th^ Sep^r^. The Militia marched on the rout towards the Indian towns.

30^th^. The General having got forward all the supplies that he expected, he moved out with the federal troops formed into the small Battalions under the immediate command of Major Wyllys & Major Doughty, together with Captain Ferguson's company of artillery, & three pieces of ordnance.

October 3^rd^. General Harmar joined the advanced troops early in the morning, the remaining part of the day was spent in forming the Line of March, the Order of Encampment & Battle, and explaining the same to the militia field officers. General Harmar's orders will shew the several formations.

4^th^. The army took up the Order of March as is described in the orders.

5^th^. A reinforcement of horsemen & Mounted infantry joined from Kentucky. The Dragoons were formed into two troops, the mounted rifle men made a company & this small Battalion of light troops were put under the Command of Major Fontain. The whole of General Harmar's command then may be stated thus —

3 Battalions of Kentucky Militia.....	1,133
1 Battalion of Pennsylvania Militia.....	
I Battalion light troops mounted Militia.....	
2 Battalions federal troops.....	320
Total	1,453

The Line of March was certainly one of the best that could be adopted & great attention was paid to keep the officers with their commands in proper order, & the pack horses etc. as compact as possible.

The Order of Encampment appeared to be well calculated not only for defense but to preserve the horses & cattle from being lost; however, notwithstanding every precaution was taken, & repeated orders given to the horsemaster to hopple well their horses, and directions to the Officers & men not to suffer any to pass through the lines, many of them, owing to the carelessness of the Militia, & the scarcity of food, tho great attention was paid in the choice of ground, broke loose and strayed through the lines after night, & even passed the chain of sentries which encircled the camp, and were lost — patroles of Horsemen were ordered out every morning by daylight to scoure the neighbouring woods & to bring in any horses that might have broke through the lines; and a standing order directed the picquets to turn out small parties & drive in every horse. This was done, I believe, to expedite the movement of the army. There was no less attention paid to securing the cattle — every evening when the army halted, the guard which was composed of a commissioned officer & 30 or 35 men, built a yard always within the chain of sentries & sometimes in the square of encampment, & placed a sufficient number of sentries round the enclosure, which effectually preserved them. There was not more than 2 or 3 head lost during the whole of the campaign.

13th October. Early in the morning a patrole of horsemen captured a Shawanoe Indian.

14th October. Colonel Hardin was detached with 600 light troops to push for the Miami Village. I believe that this detachment was sent forward in consequence of the intelligence gained of the Shawanao prisoner, which was, that the Indians were clearing out as fast as possible, and that if we did not make more haste, the towns would be evacuated before our arrival. As it was impossible for the main body with all their train to hasten their march much, the General thought proper to send on Colonel Hardin in hopes of taking a few before they would all get off. This night the Horses were all ordered to be tied

up that the army might start by day light on purpose to keep as near Colonel Hardin as possible,— the distance to the Indian towns when the detachment marched ahead was about 35 miles.

15th. Every exertion was used to get forward the main body — this day we found that the advanced party had gained but very few miles.

16th. In the evening, met an express from Col. Hardin, who had got into the village, informing the General that the enemy had abandoned every place.

17th. About noon, the army arrived at the Omee Towns.

18th. Col. Trotter was ordered out with 300 men Militia & regulars, to reconnoitre the country & to endeavor to make some discoveries of the enemy; he marched but a few miles when his advanced horsemen came upon 2 Indians & killed them. The Colonel was contented with this victory & returned to camp. Colonel Hardin was displeased, because Col. Trotter did not execute his orders — requested the General to give him the Command of the party, it was granted, & accordingly Hardin marched next morning, but I believe that he had not two thirds of his number when two miles from camp, for to my certain knowledge many of the Militia left him on the march & returned to their companies. Whether he knew it or not, I can't tell, but proceeded on with a determination to trace some fresh signs of the enemy. I believe the plan was merely to gain some knowledge of the savages. He at length came upon a party not exceeding one hundred, but was worsted, owing entirely as I am informed, to the scandilous behaviour of the Militia, many of whom never fired a shot but ran off at the first noise of the Indians & left the few regulars to be sacrificed — some of them never halted until they crossed the Ohio. The Army in the main time was employed burning & destroying the houses & corn, shifting their position from one town to another.

21st Oct. The army having burned five villages besides the Capital Town & consumed & destroyed near 20,000 bushels of corn in ears, took up the Line of march on the rout back to Fort Washington & encamped about 8 miles from the ruins—9 o'clock p. m. the General ordered out 400 choice men, Militia & regulars,

under the command of Major Wyllys to return to the Towns intending to surprise any parties that might be assembled there, supposing that the Indians would collect to see how things were left. The General had felt the enemy, knew their strength, & calculated much upon the success of this enterprise. It was the general opinion that the force of the savages was nothing equal to this detachment, and unless by some such means, there was no possibility of getting any advantage of them. However, the best laid plan, was in some measure defeated by the disobeydiance of the Militia who ran in pursuit of small parties & left Major Wyllys unsupported, the consequence was that the Major with the most part of the regulars were killed & our loss was equal if not greater than the savages.

The intention of this detachment was evident to all the army & would have answered the fullest expectations, provided a due obeydiance had been observed on the part of the Militia to provide against disobeydiance of orders what I believe no one would think of, & had it not been the case, the Major might have returned crowned with laurels. The main body waited for the return of his detachment, but to our mortification, about 11 o'clock of the 22nd, a fellow who ran back from the field give some information of Major Wyllys's misfortune. The General immediately dispatched Major Rhey with his Battalion to the assistance of the parties, but the Major did not get the length until he met Col. Hardin returning to camp with his wounded.

I am led to believe that about this time the General lost the confidence he had in the Militia, those of them among the dead were of the best men — the effective strength was very much reduced by sickness & other ways — the regular troops did not furnish more than 200, *they* were very insufficient, and I am clearly of the opinion, that had the enemy made an attack upon our camp this evening or the morning following, the Militia were so panic struck, that very few of them would have stood. The consequences that would have happened stared every person with horror — the sick & wounded & all the stores artillery etc. would have fallen a prey to the savages. This was also the opinion of several of the principal officers, who advised General Harmar

of the danger of attempting to return to the Towns, from the time it would take up & the probability that the delay would give the savages time to collect from distant quarters.

22nd October. Continued encamped, fixing biers for the wounded, and making repairs.

The frost had destroyed the food early on our march out, & the horses of the army was now very much reduced, so much so, that it was utterly impossible for the main body to perform anything rapidly, and to get back upon the road which we had so lately passed, was attended with difficulty — however, the greatest attention was paid, the little army was kept compact, and vigilance was the word from all who had any reputation to lose.

The Militia on the return began to be refractory, showing great signs of a revolt— discharging their pieces in open defiance of the General orders, some of them, however, were detected & punished, which give umbrage, and was afterwards the cause of many idle ill-natured reports spread, without any foundation, to injure the General's reputation.

The army returned by slow marches back to Fort Washington. General Harmar's conduct during the campaign was observed to be sober, steady, & attentive to the service, and as my duty required me to be frequently near him, should certainly have discovered it, had he been at any time intoxicated as has been reported. Every evening as duly as the army halted, the General made his remarks for that day, & issued orders for the movement & arrangements for the next, and every morning he was found among the first prepared for the field.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your very humble servant

E. Denny,

Lieut. & Agt. 1st *Regt. of the U. S.*

(Endorsed)

Lieut. Dennis *Statement of Genl Harmar.*

FOUR CYCLES: A CENTENNIAL ODE.

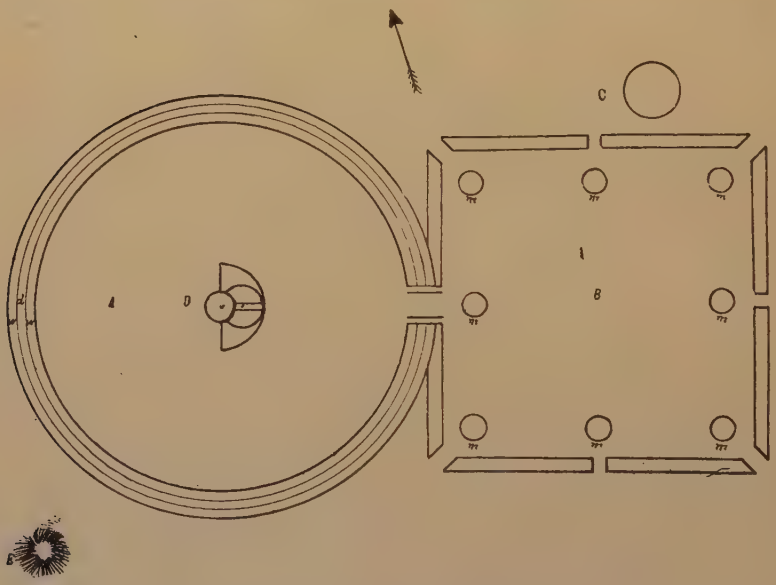
Prepared in commemoration of the centennial anniversary of Pickaway County. The Poem is descriptive of Circleville, the county seat.

MAY LOWE.

PRELUDE.

The grape vine and the sycamore
Cast shadows long and deep,
On the surface of the river
Near whose banks the thousands sleep--
Men of mystery, who from silence
Of the dim past settled here,
Wrought their mighty deeds of valor,
Left a record written clear
Of their learning and their prowess,
In the circle and the square;
Left a name for future builders,
In the circle and the square.

SCIOTO RIVER.



MOUND BUILDERS' CIRCLE.

FIRST CYCLE: THE MOUND BUILDER.

Thou placid river, flowing 'neath the shade
Of sycamore and wild grape intertwined,
Canst, in thy murmurings, speak of deeds as strange
As e'er old Greek and Roman annals made
Record of wonder, coming down the years.
Upon thy banks a mighty people dwelt,
Who wrought what, later, men saw with amaze—
A structure, in its building so exact
And perfect, that savants who came to gaze,
And criticize, and measure, went their way
Silent with awe. They saw that those whose minds
Had planned these walls were giants in their day.

Whence come? or whither gone? we ask in vain;
And thou, oh, stream! immutable as Time,
Dost silence keep.

INDIAN SCOUT.

PICKAWAY PLAINS WITH INDIAN SETTLEMENTS.

SECOND CYCLE: THE RED MAN.

Along thy banks another people roamed,
Scioto! finding in thy waters clear
Largess of food; while flint-tipped arrows brought
Low, in the forest shade, the antlered deer,
Seeking thy cooling waters in his need.
But not alone in ways of peace excelled
The Red Man; but long has his name come down
Freighted with weight of craft and deeds of blood,
Which made the name of every Indian town
A word of terror. But for deeds of hate
And cunning often noble acts and thoughts
Are chronicled. Each tortured victim's fate
Logan redeemed and amply satisfied.
For each base, crafty, cruel Captain Pipe
A wise and noble Cornstalk doth appear,
And ever at his side, Squaw Grenadier,
Mighty as he in council and in war.
E'en though the war-cry echoed o'er and o'er,
The calumet was smoked along thy shore.

No more their council fires burn on thy banks,
Nor float their bark canoes upon thy tide;
Their race is run.

CITY OF CIRCLEVILLE WITH COURT HOUSE IN CENTER.

THIRD CYCLE: THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN.

Across the Alleghanies slowly came,
Like Argonauts of old, a hardy race
Seeking new homes. Long weeks, with toilsome pace
They traveled from the East to the far West,
Hoping, each day, their journey's end to find.
Each morning, gleamed the sun upon the band
Of weary pilgrims and their pack-horse train,
Laden with children and with household goods;
Each sunset told their hope had been in vain,
Until thy gleam, Scioto, met their gaze;
Upon thy bank they paused — their quest was o'er.
Upon the fort they looked with what amaze
We can but guess; 'tis this alone we know —
They chose this wondrous spot to be the site
Of their new town. Deftly they felled and laid
The giant trees, and from them houses made;
Followed the conformation of the fort
With rows of dwellings in a circle placed,
And in their midst, a court house eight ways faced.

Now, like those mystic builders of the past,
And the Red Man who followed in their wake,
They, also, sleep.

MAIN STREET, CIRCLEVILLE.

FOURTH CYCLE: THE GLORY DEPARTED.

A century has passed, with all its woes
And happiness, since first the White Man staid
His steps upon this spot; since first he laid,
With pride and hope, his circle village. Here
He dwelt contented till a longing rose
Among the people for a modern town.
Then was the circle squared and made to take
The semblance of all other towns of earth.
No more, Scioto, will thy waters make
Rejoicing for the wonders which here stood;
But though the glory evermore has fled
Beauty remains, and peace, and brotherhood.
What though our eyes may long to pierce the past
And view the marvel of the wondrous fort
Of ancient time, they in content are brought
To bear on temples in this decade wrought.
Though, in romantic mood, to range the wood
With dusky savage were a wished-for thing,
In saner mind, we are content to bring
Fair fields and orchards as an offering.

And though dark war may bear its meed of fame,
In thankfulness we hold triumphs that come
Through paths of peace.

EDITORIALANA.

VOL. XX. No. 1. JANUARY, 1911.

E. O. Randall

JEFFERSON'S ORDINANCE OF 1784.

[Frequent inquiries have come to the Editor of the *Quarterly* concerning the nature of Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784, for the organization of the Northwest Territory and its bearing upon the later Ordinance of 1787. In reply to such inquiries we submit the following.]

As early as the fall of 1776 and at various times later, up to the final peace agreement of 1783, Congress by resolution pledged bounty lands to those (officers) who served in the Continental Army. But until the cession of the claimant states, Congress had no lands at its disposal to fulfill its pledges. But the western territory was constantly in sight, and April 7, 1783, Timothy Pickering, member of Congress, wrote a friend that "there is a plan for the forming of a new state westward of the Ohio. Some of the principal officers of the army are heartily engaged in it. The propositions respecting it are in the hands of General Huntington and General Putnam." Neither Huntington nor Pickering is heard of again in the matter. But Rufus Putnam pressed it upon General Washington in repeated letters, which Washington answered, affirming his own interest in the scheme and saying he had urged it upon Congress.

In June 1783, at Newburg, Washington's headquarters, nearly three hundred officers of the Continental line "who were about to exchange the hardships of war for the sufferings of poverty" petitioned Congress to "work out a district between Lake Erie and the Ohio River as the seat of a new colony," says Mr. Avery, "in time to be admitted one of the confederate states of America." Rufus Putnam was the prime mover in this petition — indeed the author of it — but nothing came directly of the project.

Probably the same month (June) of this year (1783) that the army officers petitioned Congress for the benefits of the western lands, Theodoric Bland, at Washington's suggestion and supported by Alexander Hamilton, moved, in Congress, the adoption of an ordinance which was referred to a "grand committee," where it seems to have remained undisturbed.

As we learn from the "Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787," by Jay A. Barrett, in the publications of the university of Nebraska, the Bland ordinance contained the following main provisions:

(1) Lands should be substituted in place of all commutation for half pay and arrearages due the army — thirty acres for every dollar

due. This did not include the promised bounty lands. Furthermore, the land was to be free from taxation seven years. (2) There should be set apart for this purpose a tract of vacant territory lying within the bounds described in the preliminary treaty between the United States and Great Britain. (3) The territory so set apart should be laid off in districts not more than two degrees in latitude and three in longitude; and each district should be divided into townships, the surveying to be done at the expense of the general government. (4) Any district should become a State and be admitted into the Union on an equality with the original States as soon as it contained twenty thousand male inhabitants. (5) Ten thousand out of every hundred thousand acres should be reserved as a domain for the use of the United States; "the rents, shares, profits, and produce of which lands, when any such shall arise, to be appropriated to the payment of the civil list of the United States, the erecting frontier forts, the founding of seminaries of learning, and the surplus after such purposes (if any) to be appropriated to the building and equipping a navy, and to no other use or purpose whatever."

In October of this same year (1783) before it had received title to any of the western domain, Congress appointed a committee of which Thomas Jefferson was chairman to consider the form of government for the anticipated territory.

On March 1, 1784, the very day Virginia made to the United States government, cession of all her claims to the Northwest Territory, which cession was accepted by Congress, Jefferson reported what is known as his ordinance, providing for the dividing into districts of all the western lands "ceded or to be ceded" and the creation of a temporary government therefor.

According to Henry S. Randall, in his "Life of Thomas Jefferson," the draft of this reported ordinance "in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson, is yet preserved among the archives of the State Department at Washington." Mr. Randall then gives the Ordinance, as introduced, entire:

"The Committee appointed to prepare a plan for the temporary government of the Western Territory, have agreed to the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the territory ceded or to be ceded by individual States to the United States, whensoever the same shall have been purchased of the Indian inhabitants, and offered for sale by the United States, shall be formed into distinct States, bounded in the following manner, as nearly as such cessions will admit — that is to say: Northwardly and southwardly by parallels of latitude, so that each State shall comprehend, from south to north, two degrees of latitude, beginning to count from the completion of thirty-one degrees north of the equator; but any territory northwardly of the forty-seventh degree shall make part of the State next below; and eastwardly and westwardly they shall be bounded, those on the Mississippi by that river on one side, and the meridian of the lowest point of the rapids of Ohio on the other; and those adjoining on the east by the same meridian on their

western side, and on their eastern by the meridian of the western cape of the mouth of the Great Kanawha; and the territory eastward of this last meridian, between the Ohio, Lake Erie, and Pennsylvania, shall be one State.

"That the settlers within the territory so to be purchased and offered for sale, shall, either on their own petition, or on the order of Congress, receive authority from them, with appointments of time and place for their free males, of full age, to meet together for the purpose of establishing a temporary government, to adopt the constitution and laws of any of one these States, so that such laws nevertheless shall be subject to alteration by their ordinary legislature; and to erect, subject to a like alteration, counties or townships for the election of members of their legislature.

"That such temporary government shall only continue in force in any State until it shall have acquired twenty thousand free inhabitants; when, giving due proof thereof to Congress, they shall receive from them authority, with appointments of time and place, to call a convention of representatives to establish a permanent constitution and government for themselves; *Provided,* That both the temporary and permanent governments be established on these principles as their basis: 1. [That they shall forever remain a part of the United States of America;] 2. That, in their persons, property, and territory, they shall be subject to the Government of the United States in Congress assembled, and to the Articles of Confederation in all those cases in which the original States shall be so subject; 3. That they shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted, to be apportioned on them by Congress according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States; 4. That their respective governments shall be in republican forms, and shall admit no person to be a citizen who holds any hereditary title; 5. That after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty.

"That whensoever any of the said States shall have, of free inhabitants, as many as shall then be in any one of the least numerous of the thirteen original States, such State shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the said original States; after which the assent of two-thirds of the United States in Congress assembled shall be requisite in all those cases wherein, by the Confederation, the assent of nine States is now required; *Provided,* The consent of nine States to such admission may be obtained according to the eleventh of the Articles of Confederation. Until such admission by their delegates into Congress, any of the said States, after the establishment of their temporary government, shall have authority to keep a sitting member in Congress, with right of debating but not of voting.

"That the territory northward of the forty-fifth degree, that is to say, of the completion of forty-five degrees from the equator, and extending to the Lake of the Woods, shall be called SYLVANIA.

"That of the territory under the forty-fifth and forty-fourth degrees, that which lies westward of Lake Michigan, shall be called MICHIGANIA; and that which is eastward thereof, within the peninsula formed by the lakes and waters of Michigan, Huron, St. Clair, and Erie, shall be called CHERRONESUS, and shall include any part of the peninsula which may extend above the forty-fifth degree.

"Of the territory under the forty-third and forty-second degrees, that to the westward, through which the Assenisipi or Rock River runs, shall be called ASSENISIPIA; and that to the eastward, in which are the fountains of the Muskingum, the two Miamies of the Ohio, the Wabash, the Illinois, the Miami of the Lake, and Sandusky rivers, shall be called METROPOTAMIA.

"Of the territory which lies under the forty-first and fortieth degrees, the western, through which the river Illinois runs, shall be called ILLINOIA; that next adjoining to the eastward, SARATOGA; and that between this last and Pennsylvania, and extending from the Ohio to Lake Erie, shall be called WASHINGTON.

"Of the territory which lies under the thirty-ninth and thirty-eighth degrees, to which shall be added so much of the point of land within the fork of the Ohio and Mississippi as lies under the thirty-seventh degree, that to the westward, within and adjacent to which are the confluences of the rivers Wabash, Shawnee, Tanissee, Ohio, Illinois, Mississippi, and Missouri, shall be called POLYPOTAMIA; and that to the eastward, further up the Ohio, otherwise called the Pelisipi, shall be called PELISIPIA.

"That the preceding articles shall be formed into a charter of compact, shall be duly executed by the President of the United States in Congress assembled, under his hand and the seal of the United States, shall be promulgated, and shall stand as fundamental constitutions between the thirteen original States and those newly described, unalterable but by the joint consent of the United States in Congress assembled, and of the particular State within which such alteration is proposed to be made."

This ordinance of Mr. Jefferson, it will be observed, embraced all the public territory east of the Mississippi River between latitudes 31° and 47° degrees north. It was to be divided into seventeen states by lines of latitude two degrees apart, intersected by two meridians of longitude. Ten of these states were to be north of the Ohio River and were to bear the "high-sounding" names designated. Under Jefferson's classic checker-board arrangement, the eastern section of present Ohio would have fallen into Washington, the northwestern part of Ohio would have fallen into Metropotamia, the middle western into Saratoga, and the southwestern into Pelisipia, "Pelisipy being another name discovered for the Ohio river."

The proposed states were to remain forever a part of the United States; and in them slavery should cease after the year 1800. The only persons dwelling in this vast domain at that time were about three thousand Louisiana French mostly on the lower Mississippi and the scattering French settlers in the Northwest among whom were a few slaves. The settlers of the French towns in the territory taken by George Rogers Clark claimed, after the Revolution, to be citizens of Virginia. The settlers in each of the proposed ten northern states, according to Jefferson's plan, were to have a temporary government, which was to continue until the state reached a population of twenty thousand; then it could have a delegate in Congress and when its population should reach a census equal to any of the least numerous

of the thirteen original states it might be admitted into the Union on an equality with the said original states.

Congress duly considered this ordinance and after several modifications, chiefly the rejection of the slavery clause and the repudiation of the bounds and classical names of the proposed states, the ordinance was passed April 23 (1784). It was the end of Jefferson's labors in connection with his own ordinance, or any other, for within three weeks after the passage of his ordinance, viz. on May 10, 1784, Jefferson resigned his seat in Congress, in order to accept the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to act in conjunction with Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin, in negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign nations. On this mission he remained abroad till the close of 1789.

The Jefferson ordinance remained nominally in force for three years, until the passage of the famous and better one of 1787. The Northwest remained meantime an unorganized wilderness, for the ordinance of 1784 "left everything inchoate" and with all its merits was a nullity. In the meantime Congress continued to consider the question of the settlement and government of this great domain and between the adoption of the ordinance of 1784 and the final one of 1787, no less than three ordinances, each differing from the others, were reported to Congress and discussed by that body.

On April 26, 1787, a committee, previously appointed, consisting of Johnson of Connecticut, Pinckney of South Carolina, Smith of New York, Dane of Massachusetts, and Henry of Maryland, reported "an ordinance for the government of the Western territory." This ordinance was debated the next day and subsequently recommitted to a revised committee — Carrington and R. H. Lee of Virginia, Dane of Massachusetts, Kean of South Carolina and Smith of New York — but the ordinance did not come up for second reading until May 9th. The third reading was to have taken place on the following day (10th) but the progress of the ordinance was at this stage suddenly arrested by a series of events not here to be related. Congress, through inability to secure a quorum, did no business till July 5th. On the afternoon of that day Dr. Manasseh Cutler, agent of the "Ohio Company of Associates" arrived in New York City, from Boston, and through his influence the Ordinance of 1787 was changed in many features and passed July 13th, by unanimous vote of all the states represented, the only member voting against it being Yates of New York. This ordinance, however, is not here to be considered.

Much speculation has been indulged concerning the relation of Jefferson's ordinance to that of 1787. In his famous reply to Hayne, in 1830, Mr. Webster ascribed the authorship of the Ordinance of 1787 solely to Nathan Dane of Massachusetts. Mr. Thomas Benton, of Missouri, "promptly challenged the accuracy of that statement," saying

"that ordinance and especially the non-slavery clause, was not the work of Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, but of Thomas Jefferson of Virginia."

It is not our purpose to enter into this discussion which has been the theme of many a writer. Our impression is that Mr. Jefferson has not been duly accredited with the share due his ordinance as a basis for the one of 1787. Jefferson must, says Curtis M. Geer, in his volume on the Louisiana Purchase, be "credited with the effort of trying to abolish slavery but his anti-slavery clause would have been of doubtful value, for the Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery at once instead of waiting sixteen years before abolishing it." Mr. Benton was of course specifically in error, but on the other hand partially correct, for the Ordinance of 1787 was based in large measure on the provisions of Jefferson's ordinance of 1784. The latter, however, as has been noted, was suggested in the main features by the Bland ordinance of 1783, so that who "thought first" is still an open question. Mr. Jefferson is to be credited in no small way with the many features of the final famous ordinance, but many of its chief and characteristic articles were the products of other hands — the hands of Nathan Dane, Rufus King and Manasseh Cutler; while to the latter, above all others, was due the final touches and diplomatic efforts that brought about the passage of the great Magna Charta of the Northwest Territory.

RUFUS PUTNAM MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION.

The Rufus Putnam Memorial Association, the headquarters of which are at Worcester, Mass., and which society now has the title and possession of the Rufus Putnam Homestead at Rutland, Mass., held its tenth annual meeting in the Rufus Putnam House at Rutland on September 27, 1910. G. Stanley Hall, President, presided. At this meeting the following resolutions were unamiously adopted:

> "WHEREAS, General Rufus Putnam, in whose honor this Association was formed, in his home at Rutland, Mass., with General Benjamin Tupper planned the Ohio Company of Associates and within its walls wrote the call for election of delegates to form that Company, an event of great national importance, and
>
> "WHEREAS, General Putnam led the first colony of pioneers from Massachusetts and Connecticut to Marietta, Ohio, making there the first legal settlements in the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, where he labored for thirty-six years for the cause of City and State, promoting and organizing Muskingum Academy in 1797, the percursor of Marietta College, and
>
> "WHEREAS, Marietta College represents the high ideals of patriotism and morality carried into the Northwest by Massa-

chusetts pioneers one hundred and twenty-five years ago, now owns and preserves with pride the Journals, Diaries, and all other papers of General Rufus Putnam, and all the Journals, records, accounts, surveys and other manuscripts of the original Ohio Company of Associates, owns the Stimson Collection of Americana, and the Slack Collection of Historical Documents and Prints, and its Historical Museum preserves hundreds of priceless memorials of those historic Massachusetts Founders of Ohio, has already been made custodian of the archives of the Ohio Company of Associates of New York, and further, is with fidelity and patriotic enthusiasm keeping alive the memory of this great historic movement; Therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That we, the Rufus Putnam Memorial Association, in order to perpetuate through the centuries the reverence for the unselfish devotion of the pioneers who first settled in the great State of Ohio, do appoint through its President, a Committee of Ten to formulate and carry out a plan to secure what shall be known as the General Rufus Putnam Memorial Fund of One Hundred Thousand Dollars;

"That the income of this Fund be expended;

"For the maintenance of the Rufus Putnam home in Rutland, Mass., in its present state of preservation;

"For the support of the departments of History and Political Science and the Historical Museum of Marietta College;

"For such other purposes as shall promote the general aim of this enterprise;

"That the Trustees of Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio, be made the custodians and trustees of this Fund who shall make annual report to this Association of its condition and the disposition of its income;

"That the Ohio Company of Associates of New York, the Trustees of Marietta College, and the patriotic and historical societies of Massachusetts and Ohio be asked to participate in this endeavor."

In accordance with the above resolutions, a Committee was appointed to take charge of raising the Memorial Fund, as follows: G. Stanley Hall and A. George Bullock, of Worcester, Mass.; Whitelaw Reid, of London, Eng.; A. F. Estabrook and Ex-Gov. Curtis Guild, Jr., of Boston, Homer Lee, of New York; and W. W. Mills, Chas. S. Dana and A. B. Hulbert, of Marietta, Ohio.

At the annual dinner of the Association, held in Rutland on the same date (September 27), Honorable Charles S. Dana of Marietta, a Life Member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society,

as well as a member of the Rufus Putnam Memorial Association, delivered the following eloquent address on the life and achievements of General Rufus Putnam:

> Permit me to state at the beginning of my remarks, ladies and gentlemen, that I regard this association and this occasion of high character. It is a privilege to me to stand by the threshold of the founder of Ohio and greet you of the East who revere the life and the deeds of Rufus Putnam. Here among the hills of Massachusetts the name of Rutland seems the articulation of the empire of the great Northwest. The mists of a century and a quarter do not dim the deeds of the Company of Ohio Associates, upon whom history spreads all the effulgence of the glorious sun.
>
> So I greet you of the Old Bay State, as ones who love the story of our national beginning, of our expansion, of our territorial acquisitions and of our public characters whose lives are a legacy. The plain history of America transcends all the gilded imaginations of the writer of the historical novel. The pen cannot add to the life of Washington, of Hamilton, of Adams, of Putnam, and within our own time it can but fittingly record its tribute to that great American of your own Commonwealth, George Frisbie Hoar.
>
> The story of Rufus Putnam is the story of thirteen Colonies, of the Continental Government, of the Colonial and Indian Wars, of the American Revolution, of the suppression of Shay's Rebellion and of Ohio. His days were crowded in an epoch that changed the course of civilization and hand in hand with the men of 1776 he took up the inheritance of the Magna Charta, of Plymouth Rock, of the Virginia Constitution, of the Declaration of Independence and while the Colonies were framing the Constitution of the United States he joined in compelling the Ordinance of 1787.
>
> Can the imagination, at this distance, reach the sublimity of the work of Putnam and his compeers?
>
> From the heights of Abraham in quick succession the American idea paved the way for the heroic, self-sacrificing events that flashed from Lexington to Yorktown.
>
> From Yorktown "westward the course of Empire took its way" and stopped over the Ohio country, gave us Marietta, with the Ohio Company, with Putnam and Tupper, and a state that today is the "seat and the center of Empire."
>
> If Quebec had not fallen into the hands of the English under General Wolfe, it is highly probable that the land we now call the great Northwest would exist under the colors of France. If Laurence and Augustine Washington had not formed a company, with Lord Fairfax, in 1748, that they called the Ohio Company, which

company controlled the land immediately south of the Ohio river and north of the Little Kanawha, it is also possible that Ohio would be a French province today. If General Lewis had not led his poorly-armed and clad Virginia mountaineers to the battle of Point Pleasant in the Ohio Valley and routed the Indians, (who were fighting under English directions) it is also possible that there would not have been any reason for this Putnam society to exist.

The stolid Englishmen had made their homes along the lines of the Atlantic Coast.

The country beyond the Allegheny mountains did not appeal to them, while the Frenchmen quickly laid claim to its vast extent. Here that brilliant race of men, with all their force of fancy, dreamed the dreams of Empire in a land that Daniel Webster described as "vast, untouched, unbounded, magnificent wilderness."

The first Ohio company under the brothers of George Washington failed.

In 1763 King George issued an order that shut out all the Virginians from the Ohio lands, leaving the French unmolested, and here, in my opinion, is where France failed in not following up her possession with colonies in which women and children could be found.

During the darkness of Valley Forge George Washington called his officers about him and told of the beautiful lands of the Ohio, a country that he had visited more than once in youth and early manhood, and suggested that in the event of the loss of the American cause that the soldiers of the Revolution seek a home in its genial climate.

The war was ended and the treaty of peace signed in September, 1783.

The colonists were independent, but the lives of many of the defenders were lost in battle and the remaining ones lived in utter poverty. The troops were without pay, the Continental government had neither money nor credit. The hearts that had not faltered before Hessian guns now faced a situation wherein heroism of another kind had to obtain. The resources of the government were exhausted and the only relief in sight of any kind was in the Western lands that Maryland had compelled the other colonies to form into a single body by surrendering all of their individual claims thereto.

May we not pause here a moment and call to mind the significance and the final effect of this action on the part of Maryland.

Let us keep in mind that the history of our country is an open book. We do not trace our beginning to a she wolf, nor do

the gods of mythology enter into our story. Here we have a nation builded in the bright and broad light of history, and we can trace the lines and subtle influences in a large and, yes, a small way in their entirety that created our Constitution.

This action on the part of Maryland created a ward for the Colonies, and this charge made the opening of the Ohio Company of Associates. The Ohio Company was the dynamic force whence came the Ordinance of 1787. The Ordinance of 1787 forced the ratification of the constitution by the Colonies and was one of the most effective weapons in the hands of Hamilton in dealing with the stubborn assembly of New York.

This great Ordinance stands as one of the mothers of human progress. In the language of Webster, "it fixed the character of the population in the vast regions northwest of the Ohio by excluding from them involuntary servitude."

The Ohio Company grew from a call issued from yonder house by General Putnam and General Tupper — both brave soldiers of the Revolution, and the friends and companions of Washington.

We have met to commemorate and perpetuate the life and the deeds of Rufus Putnam in the fragrance of appreciation and grateful memory.

Putnam, the step-son of a Sutton inn-keeper, became a self-made man of the highest type. He early developed a fondness for engineering and had his early training in the old French and Indian wars. While in the conflict of the Revolution his services were most distinguished at Dorchester Heights, in the fortifying of West Point, the creating of coast defenses, taking part in the capture of the army under Burgoyne and the safe return from Long Island.

We cannot stop for the narrative of his career in full today, time forbids; but we of the Ohio country look to this Rutland home as the pilgrim to his shrine.

Rufus Putnam, the father of Ohio, is my toast! Rutland! Marietta! Ohio! these are the sequences.

It is mine to be one of you in heart and pride, for I am a son of the men of 1788, who established government in Ohio, and it has been my privilege to live in the appreciation of the high ideals, plans and effective work of Putnam and his associates. "The wise and brave men," said Senator Hoar, "who settled Marietta would have left an enduring mark, under whatever circumstances, on any community to which they had belonged. But their colony was founded at the precise and only time when they could have secured the Constitution which has given the Northwest its character and enabled it, at last, to establish in the whole country, the principles

of freedom which inspired alike the company of the first and second Mayflower."

I question if history records another instance wherein the government of a state was projected and the laws worked out in detail in the advance of the coming of a single individual to the land. Herein the genius of Putnam was recognized and, with his forceful character, he was placed at the head of the Ohio Company of Associates.

Our history is dotted with the accounts of land companies from way down in Maine to Texas and Oregon. Man has felt here the lure of the land and answered the call of adventure and of gain since Bradford came to Plymouth. The organization of such companies has worked upon the speculative side of humanity and very few of them, indeed, have found a place in history. They lacked both the opportunity and the character of the Ohio Company.

The work of our fathers is secure. We approach with all the pride of confidence.

Congress granted the Ohio lands to the soldiers of the Revolution as compensation for their services and the character of these men who followed Putnam has marked beyond no doubt or question the five great states over which Governor St. Clair once ruled.

In the settlement at Belpre, the first off-shooting colony from Marietta, there was not a man who was not a commissioned officer of the Revolution. These men did not come by accident, they were the associates of Putnam and of Tupper. They loved their country and these Ohio pioneers took with them their flag and placed it by the cabin door, and to them it meant a new country, a new home, a new state, one for which they had fought and suffered. Such men as these could not be driven back by a naked, lurking foe. Their inspiration was their home and they needed but to glance over their shoulders into loving eyes and to hear the prattle of babes around the cabin fire.

General Washington said "I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community."

"I know them all" cried Lafayette with emotion, when he visited Marietta, in 1824. "I know them all. I saw them at Brandywine, Yorktown and Rhode Island. They were the bravest of the brave."

Senator Hoar said "Washington and Varnum, as well as Carrington and Lafayette, dwell chiefly, as was Washington's fashion, upon the personal quality of the men and not upon their public offices or titles. Indeed to be named with such commendation, upon personal knowledge, by the cautious and conscientious Wash-

ington, was to a veteran soldier better than being knighted on the field of battle."

The names of the first forty-eight to arrive at Marietta in the Ohio Mayflower and their immediate successors, with the families that commenced to come a little later even now proclaim the care and plans of Putnam with increasing worth, and their simple, upright, conscientious lives come to us as a benediction.

Rufus Putnam placed great value on religious and educational opportunities. To Washington he wrote "We will hew down the forests, and therein erect temples to the living God, raise and educate our children to serve and love and honor the nation for which their fathers fought, cultivate farms, build towns and cities, and make the wilderness the pride and glory of the nations."

I have never been able to picture Putnam as a man given to making money from his associates. He did not exploit the Ohio Company. When he left Rutland he had in his heart the love of God and the love of his fellow man and to him the Ohio Country offered an opportunity for the advancement of mankind in a land where human slavery could not exist, and where the church was to stand beside the school-house. He realized that a people to be great must be accomplished, and so he took with him the plans of a university and under the Ohio Company the first institution of this kind was established in Ohio.

In the wilderness our fathers propagated Greek and Latin roots from the very beginning and raised a citizenship of conspicuous mark. Men of broad lives and views, who knew their rights and dared maintain them; men who absorbed the ideas of Putnam's life and placed their own lives behind the guns that flashed from Sumter and Appomattox.

The Ohio pioneers responded to their country's call and crushed Burr's attempt to divide the west from the east. Whether Burr carried such a guilty motive or not, the Federal power relied upon the men from New England in the Ohio Valley to execute the government will.

Putnam's idea of a college was carried into effect at Marietta. The corner stone in Ohio of higher education was laid at Marietta, in 1797, and at the head of the academy was a graduate of Yale. And from this beginning Marietta College was charactered and throughout the years it has always maintained and exalted the standard of its founders as an institution of high order.

The atmosphere that made it necessary was of Putnam origin and Putnam's estate passed eventually into its endowment funds. Rufus Putnam could not have conceived of the creation of a community without an institution of higher learning, and by the

fire place here in Rutland he planned for an institution like Marietta College. Through his seat of learning his influence lives, today, and Rutland and Marietta are joined by the ties that will endure.

Ohio is now one of the empire states with a population representative of the civilization of the globe. Her children have amalgamated the blood of New England and of the Virginians, and in these strains her men and women are virile, they are yet the exemplars of the Putnam band and must be the source of perpetuating the good, honest, common sense that has, after all, made America great.

Do not, ladies and gentlemen, allow your ideals of Putnam's standard to be replaced by the "Melting Pot." The pure strain of American blood must not be contaminated in this way for otherwise we will turn back the hands of time.

Truly this is a time of rapid progress. Ours is the engine of internal combustion, the wireless message, the subtle power of electricity, the recording of the human voice, the power of aerial travel.

This is a country just passing the portals of real human progress and we are a part of the same. Ours is the inspiration of all that has made our nation great, and it is ours to help keep perpetual the integrity of Rufus Putnam, his honest purpose and his devotion to "religion, education and morality."

Concerning the further proceedings of the Rufus Putnam Memorial Association, in celebration of the 125th anniversary of the organization of the "Ohio Company of Associates" for the purpose of making the first permanent settlement in the Northwest Territory, the *Boston Transcript* of January 11, 1911, has this to say:

> A unique anniversary meeting was held yesterday at the Rufus Putnam House in this town to celebrate the first step that was taken by Massachusetts soldiers toward making a settlement west of the Allegheny Mountains, in what is now Ohio. Early on the morning of Jan. 10, 1786—125 years ago—Generals Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper completed in this house the final draft of a circular entitled "Information," which was sent out to the press of Massachusetts in fourteen Massachusetts counties, calling upon all the soldiers of the Revolution who desired to exchange their worthless certificates for public land in the West, and all others who desired to join a company and make a settlement on the Ohio, to meet at certain taverns in certain specified towns on the fifteenth of the following February, and there elect delegates to represent them at a meeting in Boston, March 1, 1786. This circular, with the list of delegates elected in the various counties, is given below.

As a result of the meeting at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston, March 1, the "Ohio Company" was organized, which company played a very important part in inducing Congress to enact the famous Ordinance of 1787, which created our first American Territory with its exceedingly important slavery prohibition.

It is the hope of the members of the committee from the Rufus Putnam Memorial Association and the Ohio Company of Associates of New York that the patriotic societies in Boston, Salem, Cambridge, Northampton, Plymouth, Barnstable, Worcester and Lenox will be sufficiently interested in this interesting historical anniversary to hold meetings in their respective towns on Feb. 15, 1911 — the 125th anniversary of local meetings — and elect a delegate or delegates to an anniversary banquet to be held in Boston on the night of March 1 to celebrate the 125th anniversary of the formation of the Ohio Company, which played an all-important part, through its chief agents, General Putnam and Rev. Manasseh Cutler, at the critical hour in the expansion of the United States.

An exact copy of the "Information" and the record of the first meeting of the Ohio Company of Associates, held March 1, 1786, copied from the originals in the library of Marietta College, Marietta, O., follows:

On the twenty-fifth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, appeared in the Public Prints a Piece styled "Information" with the Signature of the Generals Putnam and Tupper, of the late American Army — and in Substance as follows, Verbatim, viz:

INFORMATION. —

The subscribers take this method to inform all Officers and Soldiers who have served in the late War, and who are by an Ordinance of the Honourable Congress to receive certain tracts of land in the Ohio Country; and also, all other good Citizens who wish to become adventurers in that delightful region; that from personal inspection, together with other incontestible evidences, they are fully satisfied that the Lands in that quarter, are of a much better quality than any other known to New England people — that the Climate, seasons, produce, &c., are in fact equal to the most flattering accounts which have ever been published of them — that being determined to become purchasers, and to prosecute a settlement in this Country — and desirous of forming a general association with those who entertain the same ideas — they beg leave to propose the following plan, viz:

That an association by the name of the OHIO COMPANY, be formed of all such as wish to become purchasers, &c., in that Country (who reside in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts only,

or to extend to the Inhabitants of other States, as shall be agreed on).

That in Order to bring such a Company into existence, the Subscribers propose that all persons who wish to promote the scheme should meet within their respective Counties (except in two instances hereafter mentioned) at ten o'clock A. M., on Wednesday, the 15th day of February next — and that each County, or meeting, there assembled, chuse a delegate or delegates, to meet at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston, on Wednesday the first day of March next at ten o'clock A. M., then and there to Consider and determine upon a General Plan of Association for said Company — which plan, covenant, or agreement being published, every person (under condition therein to be provided) may by subscribing his name, become a member of the Company. —

To carry these proposals into effect, the subscribers request, that all persons disposed as aforesaid, will meet on the said 15th day of February, for the purpose of chusing delegates as aforesaid, at the places hereinafter mentioned, viz: —

Those of Suffolk County at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, in Boston — Essex at Capt. Webbs in Salem — Hampshire, at Pomeroys in North Hampton — Plymouth at Bartlets in Plymo — Barnstable Dukes & Nantuckett Counties, at Houland's in Barnstable — Bristol at Crockers in Taunton — York at Woodbridge's, in York — Worster at Patch's in Worster — Cumberland and Lincoln, at Shattuck's in Falmouth — Berkshire, at Dibble's in Lenox —

RUFUS PUTNAM,
BENJA TUPPER.

Rutland, Jany. 10th, 1786.

In Consequence of the foregoing — On the first Day of March, One thousand seven hundred and Eighty-six, Convened at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, in Boston, as Delegates from several of the Counties of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to consider of the Expediency of forming an Association or Company to purchase Lands and make a settlement in the Western Country, the Gentlemen whose names are underwritten —

County of Suffolk — Winthrop Sargent, John Mills
County of Essex — Manasseh Cutler
County of Middlesex — John Brooks, Thomas Cushing
County of Hampshire — Benja Tupper
County of Plymouth — Crocker Sampson
County of Worcester — Rufus Putnam
County of Berkshire — John Patterson, Jahlaliel Woodbridge
County of Barnstable — Abraham Williams

Elected General Rufus Putnam Chairman of the Convention and Maj. Winthrop Sargent Clerk — From the very pleasing De-

scription of the Western Country given by Generals Putnam and Tupper & others, it appearing expedient to form a settlement there, a Motion was made for chusing a Committee to prepare the Draught or Plan of an Association into a Company for the said Purpose, for the Inspection and Appropriation of this Convention — Resolved in the Affirmative. — Also Resolved that this Committee shall consist of five. — General Putnam, Mr. Cutler — Col. Brooks, Major Sargent & Capt. Cushing were elected. —

Adjourned to half after 3 o'clock, Thursday. ——

The officers of the societies interested in these anniversary meetings include President G. Stanley Hall, Clark University, Worcester, president of the Rufus Putnam Memorial Association; Hon. Whitelaw Reid, president of the Ohio Company of Associates of New York, and Professor Archer Butler Hulbert of Marietta College. Professor Hulbert will be a guest at the annual banquet of the Massachusetts Society of the Sons of the Revolution, Jan. 17, when he will speak on "Rufus Putnam."

WILLIAM HENRY RICE — IN MEMORIAM.

William Henry Rice, for many years a Life Member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and for seven years previous to last May, a Trustee of the Society, died in South Bethlehem, Pa., January 10, 1911. For the main facts of his active and resultful life we are indebted to Professor W. N. Schwarze of the Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pa.

Wm. H. Rice.

William Henry Rice sprang from heroic, pioneer Moravian stock. He was a direct descendant of the noble missionary among the Indians, the Rev. John Heckewelder. He was the son of the late James Alexander and Josephine Charlotte Seibert Rice and was born in Bethlehem, Pa., on September 8, 1840. After receiving his early education in the Moravian Parochial School of Bethlehem, he entered Yale College as a member of the class of 1859. From this institution he was graduated with distinction, and after spending a short time teaching, he entered Yale Theological Seminary. In his middle year at this institution he joined the Union Army and was chosen Chaplain of the 129th Pennsylvania Infantry, in which were many of his friends from Bethlehem. Dr. Rice never tired of relating his army experiences and on every possible occasion used what eloquence he could command to fire the enthusiasm and patriotism of his fellow countrymen.

After honorable discharge from the army the deceased completed his theological course at Yale, and then his long and varied career as a minister of the Moravian Church began. On August 17, 1862, he was ordained to the ministry of the Moravian Church, in Bethlehem, by Bishop Samuel Reinke.

From 1863 to 1867 he was active as a home missionary in New Haven, Conn. From 1868 to 1876 he was pastor at York, Pa., and during this pastorate the congregation completed a new church edifice.

On May 23, 1871, he was united in holy wedlock with Miss Mary Elizabeth Holland, daughter of the late Rev. Francis R. and Augusta Wolle Holland, then of Hope, Indiana.

From 1876 to 1879 he filled the pastorate of the congregation at Nazareth, Pa. From 1879 to 1880 he ministered to the congregation in Brooklyn, N. Y. From 1880 to 1885 he was minister of the First Moravian Church in the City of Philadelphia, Pa. From this city he removed to New York City and became the active and beloved pastor of the German Mission on Sixth street. Here he ministered from 1885 to 1892. During these years he made his influence felt beyond the circle of his own congregation. He served acceptably as assistant chaplain of St. Luke's Hospital in New York and as a member of the Board of Managers of the American Trust Society and of the Evangelical Alliance of the United States.

From 1892 to 1897 he was pastor of the Moravian Church at New Dorp, Staten Island. He next followed a call westward. From 1897 to 1909 he was pastor of the congregation at Gnadenhutten, Ohio. During these, nearly twelve, years of devoted activity on historic ground, the commodious John Heckewelder Memorial Church of Gnadenhutten was built. After untiring effort this beautiful sanctuary was dedicated, debt free, to the worship of the Triune God. On July 27, 1905, the Board of Trustees of Scio College conferred upon the deceased the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Not quite two years ago, in February, 1909, Dr. Rice became pastor of the Moravian congregation in South Bethlehem, Pa. He labored in this place long enough to endear himself to his people and a large circle of friends and to set in motion the forces that have succeeded in putting under roof what promises to become a beautiful and comfortable church edifice.

As a preacher and platform speaker, Dr. Rice excelled. He was prominent in the councils of the church and a forceful speaker on the floor of her synods. He was twice honored by being chosen to represent the American Moravian Church, Northern Province, at the General Synod, held in Herrnhut, Saxony, Germany — in 1869 and again in 1899. He made some valuable contributions to the literature of the Moravian Church. He was the author of "David Zeisberger and His Brown Brethren." Only a short time ago he turned over to the Governing Board

of the Northern Province of the American Moravian Church his share of the work on a "Book of Order," which the Synod of the Church had ordered published and the preparation of which had been entrusted to a committee of three, Dr. Rice being chairman.

As a pastor Dr. Rice was tenderly sympathetic and carried into the homes of his people a Christ-like spirit. He will be most gratefully remembered by many whom he had helped on by his thoughtfulness and consideration.

Suddenly, quietly and peacefully, he fell asleep while waiting for the opening of the service, in which he was to participate, in the First Baptist Church, in South Bethlehem, on Tuesday evening, January 10, 1911. His age was 70 years, 4 months and 2 days.

To the above tribute of Professor Schwarze we can only add a few words concerning Reverend Rice's enthusiastic work in the field of Ohio history. He had unbounded energy and infused the same into all who came in contact with him. Life was not an existence of hard labor with him, though no one ever worked more constantly or effectively — but life was a joyful task, filled with cheer, sympathy, patriotism and gratitude for the opportunity of labor. It was Dr. Rice who instigated the celebration of the Gnadenhutten Centennial in the Fall of 1898 — a most succesful celebration of the founding of that famous Moravian settlement by John Heckewelder in 1798. Thousands poured into the little village to participate in the intensely interesting program arranged for the occasion by Dr. Rice. Again in the Fall of 1908 Dr. Rice planned for and successfully executed the one hundredth anniversary of the death of David Zeisberger, whose remains lie buried in the little cemetery at Goshen, some six miles distant from Gnadenhutten.

The Editor of the *Quarterly* will never cease to remember the days of the celebrations just mentioned. The spirit — yes and the spiritual — interest of Dr. Rice in the proceedings; his eloquence in speaking of the lives and deeds of Heckewelder and Zeisberger — those first missionaries to the western redmen. The story of these celebrations and the splendid orations of Dr. Rice may be found in the pages of the publications of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, where generations yet to come will doubtless read them and be edified by the history there so graphically told. Dr. Rice possessed a patriotism of the fervid kind; he was easily put at "fever heat" when speaking of the Civil War and the blessings of freedom arising therefrom. The altar of his country was close to the altar of his religion. His fellow members of the Grand Army of the Republic, recognized his services in the war and his devotion to the memory of those days by electing him chaplain of the Ohio State organization.

Dr. Rice was a man of rare ability, put to the best use, and the world is the better for his living in it.

THE BUNCH OF GRAPES TAVERN.

In "Old Boston Taverns"—a rare little pamphlet published in Boston in 1886 and written by Samuel Adams Drake—is an entertaining little chapter on the "Bunch of Grapes Tavern," the inn that figured so historically in the early stages of the organization of the Ohio Company of Associates. The tavern stood in King Street, now State Street, at the upper corner of Kilby Street. It was not far from the site of the Boston Massacre and in the engraving of that bloody scene by Paul Revere the balcony over the entrance to the tavern is shown on the extreme left, while the town hall is in the background. Mr. Drake states that "three gilded clusters of grapes temptingly dangled over the door before the eye of the passer-by." These bunches of grapes were of course large wooden imitations of the real clusters. He also adds that "apart from its palate-tickling suggestions, the pleasant aroma of antiquity surrounds this symbol, so dear to all devotees of Bacchus from immemorial time." Shakespeare in "Measure for Measure" has his clown say, "'Twas in the Bunch of Grapes, where indeed you have a delight to sit, have you not?" And Froth answers, "I have so, because it is an open room and good for winter." The Boston tavern thus named dates back to 1712, from which time until the Revolution it was a public inn and as such feelingly referred to by various travelers as the best "punch-house" to be found in all Boston.

When the line came to be drawn between conditional loyalty and loyalty at any rate the Bunch of Grapes Tavern became the resort and headquarters of the high Whigs in which patriotism only passed current and the Royalists found cold reception. It was in this tavern, states Drake, "on Monday, July 30, 1733, that the first grand lodge of Masons in America was organized by Henry Price, a Boston tailor, who had received authority from Lord Montague, Grand Master of England, for the purpose." Upon the evacuation of Boston by the Royal troops and the entrance of the Colonists, General Washington was handsomely entertained at this tavern and later after reading the Declaration of Independence from the balcony of the town hall, the populace proceeded to pull down from the public buildings the Royal arms which had distinguished them and gathered them in a heap in front of the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, made a bonfire thereof. The register of the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, if it had kept one, would show an illustrious list of guests, such as General Stark, Lafayette, and many of the Revolutionary leaders and heroes, but probably what most distinguishes it is the fact that there were held in this tavern the initial meetings of the officers and directors of the Ohio Company, their first gathering being held there March 1, 1786.

In the summer just passed (1910) the Editor during a visit to Boston endeavored to find the location of the Bunch of Grapes Tavern. The site was easily discovered, but alas the surroundings were completely changed, and where the original tavern once stood is now a sky-scraper business block, in the basement of which, under the very corner where stood the old tavern, is a little restaurant, perhaps twenty feet square, with a lunch-counter at the end, over which was arched the imitation of a large grapevine, from which hung many clusters of ingeniously similated grapes.

LOGAN — THE MINGO CHIEF.

1710-1780.

[The Ohio tribes of Indians produced an extraordinary number of illustrious chiefs who figured large in the history of their race. Among these were Pontiac, Tecumseh, Cornstalk, Little Turtle, Blue Jacket and a score of others who left distinguished records as warriors, orators and tribal leaders. Among these perhaps no one gained a fame so wide as that acquired by Logan, the Mingo chief who refused to attend the Treaty of Camp Charlotte and at that time delivered the speech which has been recited by thousands of school boy declaimers. The following biography of Logan, probably as authentic as can now be obtained, is from the Draper Manuscripts — Border Forays, 2 D., Chapter 12 — in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The notes also herewith published were made by a recent student of the manuscripts. Both are published through the courtesy of Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, Secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society. — E. O. R.]

During the last half of the seventeenth century, long and bloody wars were waged between the Five Nations of Indians and the white inhabitants of Canada. The savages killed or captured—as was ever their wont—regardless of age or sex. Among their prisoners was a boy, born in Montreal of French parentage,[1] and baptized in the Roman Catholic church,[2] who after being adopted into a family of Oneidas,[3] of the Wolf clan,[4] and given the name of Shikelimo,[5] eventually married a wife of the Cayugas.[6]

Shikelimo became the father of several children,[7] who, according to the Indian rule, were of the same tribe as the mother.[8] In the course of time, he was raised to the dignity of a chief among the Oneidas[9]—the nation of his adoption. In the year 1728, having been by the Grand Council of the Iroquois "set over" the Shawanese,[10] who then occupied contiguous territory to, and were held in subjection by, the Five Nations, Shikelimo removed with his family to a small Indian village on the east side of the West Branch of the Susquehanna, at a point about fourteen miles above its junction with the Northeast Branch,

near the mouth of Warriors Run, in what is now Northumberland county, Pennsylvania;[11]—removing, about ten years after, to Shamokin, now the city of Sunbury, where he made his future home;[12] and where, at an advanced age,[13] he died, in December, 1748.[14]

Shikelimo filled for more than twenty years, a large space in the Indian history of the country, he may be said to have ruled over, for, in the course of time, his office became greatly extended. He swayed almost a vice-regal sceptre over all the inferior tribes south of the Iroquois who paid tribute to that powerful League, or were held by it in subjection. He became a kind of resident ambassador of the Five Nations, in Pennsylvania. He frequently acted as the agent of that Province in their dealings with that famous Confederacy. That he dealt out justice even-handed to the savages over whom he was placed, is evident from their high estimation of him, frequently expressed. That his conduct was satisfactory to the Grand Council of Onondaga, is established by the fact of his being continued so many years as its representative and agent abroad. The government of Pennsylvania was ever loud in their praise of "Shikelimo, the true friend of Englishmen." Taking into consideration its complicated character, it is doubtful if any such office had ever before been created by North American Indians; or one so important, filled with more satisfaction to all concerned.

Shikelimo was, of course, unlettered. He was tutored only in Indian craft. In all respects, except the color of his skin, he was a savage—but of the highest type of the race. Revenge, a passion so strong in the breast of the Indian, he seemed incapable of. The use of intoxicating liquors, he held in utter abhorrence. There is an abundance of recorded evidence of his fine personal appearance, of his genial manners, of his shrewdness as a diplomat, and of the firmness and nobility of his character. By the Moravians, he was held in high esteem; a few words of his once moved several of their young men to consecrate themselves to the work of missions among the North American Indians;[15] indeed, wherever known, he seems to have been a general favorite.

Logan,[16] whose Indian name was Tach-nech-do-rus[17]—"the

branching oak of the forest"[18]—was the eldest son of Shikelimo.[19] He was known, however, for many years to white people, especially to Pennsylvanians, as John Shikelimo.[20] He was born in the Oneida country, now an interior portion of the State of New York,[21] about the year 1710. Although his father was a white man, Logan was, agreeable to the Indian rule, by birthright a Cayuga—to which nation his mother belonged;[22] although, as already explained, Shikelimo was, by adoption, an Oneida.[23]

Concerning Logan's minority, history is entirely silent. That he grew to manhood in possession of superior talents is evidenced by the early recognition of his abilities, in councils.[24] He unquestionably inherited the talents of his father, but not his sobriety. His passion for strong drink, which, in the end, so overcame him, was largely due to his residing, for so many years, at or near Shamokin—*"the very seat of the Prince of Darkness."*[25] Situated about midway of the Province of Pennsylvania, at a point one mile below where the Northeast and West branches unite to form "the winding river"—Susquehanna, it had a very commanding and accessible position. It was directly on the route from Philadelphia to the Grand Council House of the Six Nations. Its situation was delightful. An early writer was enraptured with "the charming plain of Shamokin, two miles long and about one broad, skirted on the west and north by the river, and encompassed east and partly south, with lofty hills."[26] In strange contrast with the magnificance of the natural scenery was the immorality of its savage occupants. "The Indians of this place," wrote the pious Brainerd more than three years before the death of Shikelimo, "are accounted the most drunken, mischievous, and ruffian-like fellows of any in these parts."[27]

Logan had four brothers. The youngest died in 1729, at Shamokin. "You are very sensible of your love and our care," wrote the Governor of Pennsylvania, to the father upon the sorrowful event, "for all the good Indians, our brethren, that live amongst us or near us." "We send," he added, "a strowd to cover Shikelimo's son."[28] The brother next to Logan was Say-ugh-to-wa,[29] known to the English as "James Logan."[30] He was thus named by his father in honor of a warm friend, James Logan, a

learned writer and statesman, born in Lurgan, Ireland, on the twentieth of October, 1674, of Scotch parentage,—who died at Stanton, near Philadelphia, on the thirty-first of October, 1751. He landed in Pennsylvania as the Secretary of William Penn early in December, 1699; and after the return of the latter to England, in 1701, he was invested with many important offices, which he discharged with fidelity and judgment. He was provincial Secretary, Commissioner of Property, Chief Justice, and upon the death of Governor Gordon, in October, 1736, governed the province of Pennsylvania for two years, as president of the Council. He was the friend of the Indians, possessed uncommon abilities, and great wisdom and moderation.

The Indian name of Logan's second brother—the third son of Shikelimo—was Sa-go-gegh-ya-ta. He was known to the English as "John Petty," or "John Petty Shikelimo;"[31] having been named after a trader of some prominence in the early days of Pennsylvania.[32] Shikelimo's fourth son bore the dolorous name of "Unhappy Jake."[33] He was killed by the Catawbas in 1744, with five others of the Six Nations. "As this is a great stroke to our friend Shikelimo," wrote Conrad Weiser, on the second of January, 1745, to the Secretary of Pennsylvania, "who is, for the trust put in him by the Council of the Six Nations, and our government, worthy to be taken notice of. I thought it my indispensable duty to inform you of this; and to lay it before the Governor, whether or no he thinks fit to send to Shikelimo a small present, in order to wipe away his tears and comfort his heart, and enable him by so doing, to stand to his charge; which would be not only satisfactory to him, but very agreeable and pleasing to the Council of the Six Nations;—and, consequently, some little service done to ourselves."[34]

Of the sisters of Logan, but little is known. The eldest, who was married to an Indian named Cajadis, in 1731, lost her husband in 1747.[35] He was reckoned the best hunter among all the Indians at Shamokin. There was one sister living among the Conestoga Indians, near the Susquehanna, at no great distance from the town of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in the year 1756,[36] who, seven years after, fell a sacrifice to the wild ferocity of the

Paxton rioters, along with the residue of those peaceable and friendly Indians.[37]

Of the thirty-seven years that Logan resided upon the waters of the Susquehanna—from 1728 to 1765—seventeen of them were to him years of great activity and responsibility. In 1747, a Cayuga Chief, known as Sca-yen-ties, bore to him a message from one of the tribes of his nation of great importance. He was found, in company with his father, at the house of Joseph Chambers, on the east side of the Susquehanna, about six miles above the present city of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. He was informed that he had been nominated and appointed one of their Counselors. He was desired to apply himself to public business.[44] This was the commencement of his long official career,—greatly augmented, in its importance, upon the death of Shikelimo. The instruction of the father had not been thrown away upon the son. From this time forward until the day of his death, Shikelimo was always accompanied by him, whenever absent on public business.[45] It was no new custom, however, as the records of previous public meetings and treaties abundantly prove.[46] Scarcely had Logan entered upon his duties as Counselor for the Cayugas than he was called upon to mourn the death of his wife.[47]

Logan was sent by his father, to the Six Nations, on business connected with public affairs, in 1748.[48] Shikelimo was too feeble to attend the Great Council at Onondaga in person. He died soon after. Logan and his brothers were the recipients of many messages of condolence upon the occasion of his death. One came from the bishops and Synod of the Moravian church, "sympathizing with them in their loss, telling them of their father's faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and urging them to follow in his footsteps."[49] "I returned from Shamokin," wrote Conrad Weiser, Indian agent for Pennsylvania, to the Governor of that Province, on the twenty-second of April, 1749, from Heidelberg, in the present county of Berks,—"on the eighteenth instant. I happened to meet the eldest and youngest son of Shikelimo, at the trading house of Thomas McKee, about twenty miles this side of Shamokin." "All I had to do was," continued the writer, "to let the children and grandchildren of your dis-

eased friend, Shikelimo, know that the Governor of Pennsylvania and his Council condoled with them for the death of their father."[50]

Weiser then gave them a small present in order "to wipe off their tears," according to the custom of the Indians. After this, and in the name of the Governor, and on behalf of the Council, of Pennsylvania, he desired Logan to take upon himself the care and responsibility of a chief instead of his deceased parent, and to be the true correspondent of the Government, until there should be a meeting between the same and the Six Nations, when he should be recommended by the Governor and confirmed, if he would follow the footsteps of his departed father.

"He accepted thereof," says Weiser, "and I sent a string of wampum to Onondaga to let the Six Nations know of Shikelimo's death and my transactions, by order of the Governor."[51] There was a necessity for expedition in this appointment of a successor to the Iroquois "vicegerent" at Shamokin; for the Indians were getting very uneasy about the white people settling beyond the "Endless Mountains," on the Juniata, on Sherman's creek, and elsewhere, west of the Susquehanna. It was their only hunting ground for deer; farther to the northward, they were very scarce. Five years before, a deputy from the Grand Council of the Six Nations, addressing himself to the Governor of Pennsylvania, desired that the people who were then located upon the Juniata might be removed; "for," said he, "we have given that river for a hunting-place to our cousins, the Delaware Indians, and our brethren, the Shawanese, and we ourselves hunt there sometimes."[52]

Logan was soon raised by the General Council of Onondaga to the dignity of "Sachem or Chief of the Shamokin Indians,"[53] an office, in all that appertained to the government of the various Indian tribes represented at that place, equal in importance to the one held by his father; besides, he was made one of the ten Sachems of the Cayugas[54]—the Nation to which he belonged. Logan heeded the advice of Conrad Weiser and he came a "true correspondent" of Pennsylvania, acting as its agent frequently in its intercourse with the Six Nations.

To conciliate the Indians and give them assurance that those

who settled upon their lands on the Juniata should be speedily removed, a conference between them and the Government of Pennsylvania was held on the seventeenth of May, 1750, at Pennsboro, Cumberland County. Logan was present and took part in the proceedings.[55]

In 1754, the Governor of Pennsylvania informed its Council, that, having standing instructions from its Proprietaries to take all opportunities of making a purchase of lands from the Iroquois which was every day becoming more urgent by the great number of people settling beyond the Blue Hills over the Susquehanna, contrary to the stipulations of the government with those Indians, which might create differences with them,— he had recommended the Proprietaries to try by all the means in their power to make a purchase; and to facilitate the necessary work, he had, by the advice of Conrad Weiser, dispatched Logan—"John Shikelimo"—early in the Spring with a message to the Six Nations, informing them of the necessity of their selling, by reason of the increase of the inhabitants, and the impossibility of restraining them from making settlements beyond the boundaries previously established; and desiring they would enter into a treaty with the Proprietaries whose agents would be at Albany in the ensuing Summer.

Logan conducted the negotiation, preliminary to the treaty, to the satisfaction of both parties. A vast extent of land west of the Susquehanna, including the whole territory watered by the Juniata, was secured and the Indian's title quieted, on the sixth of July, at Albany. "As to Wyoming and Shamokin and the land contiguous thereto, on the Susquehanna," said the Indians, "we reserve them for our hunting ground and for the residence of such as in this time of war shall remove from among the French and choose to live there, and we have appointed John Shikelimo to take care of them. He is our Representative and Agent there, and has our orders not to suffer either the Pennsylvania people or the New Englanders to settle any of those lands; and if any shall presume to do it, we have directed him to complain to Pennsylvania, whether it shall be their own people or those from other provinces; and to insist on their being turned off; and if he shall fail in this application, we will come

ourselves and turn them off. Nobody shall have this land." Logan was present at the treaty and signed the deed as one of the Sachems of the Cayugas.[56]

Trouble soon arose in Logan's "dominion" after the meeting at Albany. Connecticut people began to crowd in upon the Wyoming lands. He thereupon sent a message with a belt to the Governor of Pennsylvania:—"When the great treaty," said he, "was held at Albany this Summer, the Six Nations in their Council appointed me to the care of the lands at Wyoming and north of the Western Branch of the Susquehanna which they keep for the use of the Indians who are daily flocking there from all parts, and acquainted the Commissions of Pennsylvania in the presence of all the people that I was their agent; that they put those lands into my hands; and that no white men should come and settle there; and ordered me, if they did, to complain to Pennsylvania; and to get them punished and turned off." "In virtue of this appointment," continued Logan, "I complain to Pennsylvania that some foreigners and strangers who live on the other side of New York and have nothing to do in these parts, are coming like flocks of birds to disturb me and settle those lands; and I am told they have bought those lands of the Six Nations since I left Albany, and that I have nothing further to do with them." "I desire you," he said, in conclusion, "to send to those people not to come; and if you do not prevent it, I shall be obliged to complain to the Six Nations."

This was the commencement of the difficulty between "The Susquehanna Company"—formed in Connecticut the year previous, for the purpose of establishing a settlement in Wyoming—and Pennsylvania, which afterward bore bitter fruit, but was now interrupted by the coming on of the French War. The Connecticut people claimed that they had already purchased, by deed duly executed of the "chief sachems and heads of the Five Nations," the lands spoken of by Logan. But the latter continued his complaints to the Governor of Pennsylvania,—insisting, the next year, as in 1754, "that people were beginning to settle to the northward of the Albany purchase." "I have laid your complaint," wrote the Governor, "before the Council in which you set forth that sundry people have settled beyond the

line of the late purchase made at Albany, upon lands not yet conveyed by the Six Nations; and it is determined that the line shall be run that it may be known for certain where the limit extends; and when this is done I will issue a Proclamation prohibiting all persons from settling to the north of that line, and I hope this will have its effect. You shall have notice when the line is run that you may be present and see that all things are done right. If, after this any shall presume to settle there, they will be punished."[57]

After the defeat of Braddock in July, 1755, French interests began largely to prevail among the Indians of the Susquehanna. "You and the French," said a recalcitrant chief afterward in addressing Sir William Johnson, "quarreled for the lands on Ohio, and the French came there with a large body of men and beat yours off; and so the Indians on the Ohio were, in a manner, obliged to come into their measures. They were persuaded to take up the hatchet against the English; and, as they came in small parties to the Susquehanna river, they prevailed on the Susquehanna Indians to go with them,—they being related to one another. Many had their fathers, mothers, sons and daughters, on the Ohio, and could not withstand their request; being one people, they could not resist."[58] Logan, for months, opposed the tide then setting in so strongly at Shamokin. Finally, in the Fall of that year, it became too powerful to be resisted with safety; and, as a consequence, he and his family, together with his two brothers, were swept away from their town by the storm of war now raging so fiercely around them. They moved up the Northeast Branch of the Susquehanna to a hostile village; a report being circulated among the Delawares that the Pennsylvanians were coming in large numbers to destroy them, and Logan's life being threatened if he did not at once leave Shamokin.[59] He even went so far, it was afterward reported by a friendly Indian, as to consent to take the warpath against the English; but, fortunately, at this crisis, and while at Wyoming, whither he had gone and was waiting to be joined by eighty Delawares to go against the back inhabitants, he was met by two Indian messengers who had been dispatched to the Six Nations

by Pennsylvania and were then on their way to the Onondaga Council. These Indians upbraided him for his ingratitude to the English who had ever been extremely kind to his father when alive, and to him and his family and relatives, since his decease; and charged him not to go along with the war-party which would soon set out, but rather to join some friendly Indians—about thirty in number—who were then in the village, and who dissapproved of the measures of the Delawares.[60] Logan took their advice; remained in the town; and firmly resolved never to strike the English;—to which resolution, so long as the war lasted, he steadfastly adhered; and also during the continuance of Pontiac's War. His well-known declaration made in 1774, was true: "During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his camp, an advocate for peace."

Early in 1756, two Indians of the Six Nations were sent by the Governor of Pennsylvania up the Susquehanna, to gain intelligence of the notions and number of the enemy Indians, and to try to find out Logan and his brothers, and, if possible, bring them to Conrad Weiser's, that the former might consult with his white brethren upon the present state of affairs. This was a fortunate circumstance. It confirmed Logan in his loyalty to the English. He and his wife returned with the messengers, to "a fort at Hunter's Mill near the place where the Blue Hills cross the Susquehanna,"—generally known at that time, as McKee's fort—where a guard was ordered to escort them to Tulpehocken, Weiser's residence. But Logan declared positively that he would not go there; being apprehensive that the "Dutch" would fall upon him and either kill him or do him some mischief. He would go, he said, through Lancaster to Philadelphia and deliver what he had to say to the Governor in person; and insisted that the commander of the fort—Captain McKee—should go along and protect him. At Harris', now Harrisburg, they were joined by three other Indians, when they all made their way to Lancaster. Here Logan sent for his sister, who was living among the Conestoga Indians, not far off. She and the Conestogas joined the party and all journeyed thence to Phila-

delphia, where they arrived—men, women, and children—on Saturday, the twenty-first of February.

On Monday morning following, the Governor sent his Secretary to welcome the Indians to town, and in particular, Logan; and to make them the usual compliments of drying up their tears and taking away the grief out of their hearts, that they might be at liberty to declare the business they came upon. After they had returned thanks, and made the Governor the same compliments, they said the two messengers and Logan whom they had brought with them, would go directly to the Governor and tell him in person what they had to say. However, before the meeting, Logan sent a message by Weiser, who was present, to the Chief Executive: "My father, who," he said, "it is well known was all his life a hearty and steady friend to the English, and to Pennsylvania in particular, charged all his children to follow his steps and to remain always true to them, who had ever been kind to him and his family." "Upon the troubles first breaking out," continued Logan, "between the Indians and the white people, the former came to Shamokin and obliged me and my brothers against our inclinations to stay with them; but I had the good fortune to get from among them, which I was glad of; and I am now come to my brethren to assure them that, though I have been absent some time, and among their enemies, yet it was against my will, being forced to it." "I was still your good friend," he added, "and would live and die with you. I desire you should receive me as a friend." The Governor ordered his Secretary to return his answer to Logan, and assure him he was glad to see him; that the Government gave him a hearty reception, and would make everything agreeable to him, and take care of his family.

Logan afterwards reported that the two messengers found him at Wyoming; that he and his brethren and others of his friends were informed that when the Delawares upon the Ohio proclaimed war against the English, they forewarned all the Indians to come away from the latter; desiring them to move up, the Northeast Branch of the Susquehanna; whereupon, a council was called at Shamokin, and it was agreed, by the Indians there present, chiefly Delawares, to go up that stream for safety. "I

and my family," said Logan, "intended to go to the white settlements, but the Delawares would not let us. I therefore went with them and took my family with me." "After a while," continued he, "I found that these Indians were in the French interest. Then, I began to be afraid. I, with my brethren and others, would have gladly gone to the English, but we dared not venture, being afraid of the back inhabitants, and much more afraid of the Delawares, who told us, in plain terms, that if we offered to go down the river they would look upon us as brethren to the English and as their enemies." When the Delawares began to bring in English scalps, Logan left the town and went to Wyoming, where the government messengers found him and induced him to return with them to the white settlements.

Logan had not been long in Philadelphia before he began to grow uneasy lest some mischief might befall his family in his absence. He feared that the enemy Indians, if they should hear of his journey to the settlements, might take revenge upon them. He therefore desired to return at once to Wyoming, and promised to bring them and his brothers down into the province.[61] So he and his wife hastened back to the Northeast Branch of the Susquehanna. By the fifth of April, Logan had again reached McKee's fort, a few miles above the present city of Harrisburg, with his family and his two brothers. He brought an account of there being great confusion among the Indians up the Northeast Branch; the Delawares were all moving from there to the Ohio, and were trying to persuade the Shawanese to go with them; but the latter declined; as they would rather join the English, and were going up to Tioga where there was a body of the Six Nations, and there they intended to remain.[62] Logan again asked the commander to conduct him, as he had previously done, through the white settlements, at least as far as Conestoga where his sister and children lived; but this office, Captain McKee now declined; and Logan and his family remained in the fort,—only, however, for a brief period; for, being ill-treated and threatened by the people, he made his escape without even his gun; and after enduring many hardships and much suffering from hunger, again reached one

of the Indian towns upon the Northeast Branch, whence, soon after, he made his way to Tioga.

Early in June, 1756, the Governor of Pennsylvania, ever mindful of the previous services of Logan and indignant at the treatment he had received at Fort McKee, sent him a message, with a string of wampum, to Tioga, expressing his concern that he should have been the recipient of such abuse, and assuring him that it was entirely unknown to the Government; and requesting that he should come with the messenger to Philadelphia, and he should receive a kind welcome and receive sufficient proofs of the friendship of the Governor.[64] Conrad Weiser also sent him a pressing invitation to return. Logan could not resist these importunities notwithstanding the indignities heaped upon him at "the fort near John Harris'"; so, with his wife, he immediately started upon his journey to see the Governor, taking Bethlehem on his road to Philadelphia.

Reaching Bethlehem on the first day of September, Logan was carefully questioned by David Zeisberger, who spoke the Indian language well. He obtained much information as to the feeling and determination of the Delawares and Shawanese as well as the Six Nations, which he communicated at once to the Governor of the Province. Logan told the worthy missionary the story of his leaving the fort near John Harris'"; that it was because the Irish people did not use him well and threatened to kill him; that, therefore, he went away leaving his guns, clothes and all that he had. He also informed Zeisberger that, fifteen days before, he had left the Cayuga Lake, where he had been all the time; that all the Delawares and Shawanese up the river were now for peace; and that a great many intended to come and live again where they lived before; that the previous winter the Six Nations had sent many belts of wampum to those Indians and desired them to leave off doing mischief; and at last they were obedient to them. Logan and his wife reached Bethlehem nearly starved; they received from the Moravians every attention; and, on the third, they started, under the care of two of the brethren, for Philadelphia, abundantly refreshed with "eating, beer, and rum."[65]

Logan reached Philadelphia in safety, and at once waited

on the Governor in Council to acquaint him that he had received a string of wampum from him, and a belt from his friend, Weiser, with invitations to come and speak with him. He was kindly received; and, at his instance, an express was dispatched for Weiser. Upon his arrival, Logan thus addressed him: "Uncle! here I show you the belt of wampum you sent me, and my brethren, and my whole family. By this belt you reprimanded myself and my family for running away from Shamokin last fall into a wilderness, where we must certainly perish for want of the necessaries of life; and you told us that it was a very wrong step to run away from our friends; and you charged us, your cousins, to come back either to Shamokin, or to your own house at Tulpehocken, or elsewhere in your neighborhood, so that you could have an opportunity to help us with some provisions, and have an open eye over us, who were like little children, and knew not what was for our own good. Uncle! I assure you, that I and my brethren have often repented that we came away from Shamokin, and fled up the river, when we were assured of your friendship, and should have fled to your house. It is true what you have said—we have lost ourselves; but we have been deceived by our near neighbors, the Delawares, and my brother Say-ugh-to-wa suffered himself to be led astray. He repents now and sees his error; and we all have agreed to come down either to Shamokin, our old place, if we can be protected there, or to your house, as soon as we can with safety; and that some other friendly Indians will join us who already promised to come down with us."[66]

At the very time Logan was professing his attachment to the Pennsylvanians in such an artless but effective manner, the Governor of that Province was engaged in erecting a fort at Shamokin, where he could be "protected" in his old home. But the glory of that village as an Indian residence had departed. Its cabins had been burned; and the sons of Shikelimo never again made it their place of abode. For the next nine years Logan, after his return from Philadelphia, continued to live upon the waters of the Northeast Branch; and, although the Seven Years' War and the sanguinary conflict which followed it, disturbed, at times, the "Shamokin country," yet he "remained idle

in his camp, an advocate for peace." On the twenty-eighth of January, 1760, the commandant of the post at Shamokin sent word to Conrad Weiser that a Mingo Indian had, the day previous, arrived at that place with a message from Logan desiring to meet him there in ten days from that time. Weiser being disabled, sent his son Samuel to see Logan—"now a noted man among the Indians on the waters of the Susquehanna." There was to be a Grand Council of the warriors of the Six Nations and he had been invited to attend. Knowing that the Governor of Pennsylvania was desirous of having a road cut from the settlements to the post—Fort Augusta—at Shamokin, he thought it a good time while meeting with the assembled Indians in conference, to suggest the matter to them if it would be desired he should do so, by the Governor. So he came down from his town, to Shamokin, to lay the subject before his old friend, Weiser, whom he was in hopes to meet then. But as that could not be, a conference was held with the authorities at the Fort, acting under instructions from the Governor.

Logan was told that Governor Hamilton thought it exceedingly kind of him to send information of his having been invited to a Grand Council of the Six Nations and that he returned him thanks for his offer of mentioning to the Onondaga Council his design of cutting a road from the frontier to Fort Augusta; and he looked upon it as a fresh instance of his steady friendship, and sincere attachment to the Province. The result of the conference was that Logan should carry a message giving as a reason why it was desirable that a road should be opened, "that the Indians might be supplied with goods at Fort Augusta—Shamokin—at all times in the year, by a nearer, safer, and more commodious way than by the dangerous and roundabout way of the river Susquehanna, which is sometimes impassable in Summer, and all the winter admits of no transportation of goods or provisions." Logan promised that he would deliver this message; that he would use all the arguments and efforts in his power that the opening of the road should meet with the approbation of the Onondaga Council; and that, if he should succeed, he would be down again in two months at farthest with the news. Logan, after the Conference was over, requested a small supply of pro-

vision to carry him home, "which," writes the commander of the fort, "I have ventured to comply with, though it is not customary and is without orders."[67]

No recognition of Logan's official duties is to be found after August, 1762. In that month he attended, along with his two brothers, a treaty held with the Northern and Western Indians at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. After the public business was over, Logan, together with another Cayuga chief and three Senecas, had a private interview with Governor Hamilton. They entered complaint against the agent at Fort Augusta, as a man who always treats the Indians who come there with ill usage and bad language, insomuch that they were often so provoked as to do him violence; and they intreated the Governor to remove him and put a more quiet man in his place. They said further that as the Governor had acquainted them that the war had occasioned a rise in the price of goods, they hoped he would give orders that the Indians be paid a higher price for their skins and furs. Hamilton made answer that he would take the matter into consideration and do in it whatever was thought reasonable.[68]

For the next ten years of Logan's life, his history is partly traditionary. He makes his appearance, after the close of Pontiac's War and the return of peace, no longer as agent of Pennsylvania in its intercourse with the Six Nations, nor as the representative of the Indian Confederation in their dealings with that Province or their rule over the Susquehanna tribes,—but as a hunter, simply, and with his habitation changed from the Northeast Branch of that river to the delightful valley of the Kishacoquillas, in what is now Mifflin county, Pennsylvania. The Kishacoquillas creek is a beautiful, never-failing stream, fed by surrounding mountains. It breaks out of its fertile valley by a deep gorge, when it enters the Juniata, from the north, at the present site of Lewistown. Immediately after the purchase of the land from the Indians by the treaty of Albany in 1754, settlements began in this region; but the Seven Years' Conflict and Pontiac's War depopulated the Juniata country; so that when Logan in the year 1765 first made his camp near the Kishacoquillas, the valley was as desolate and lonely as when the Indians claimed it as their own territory. But settlers soon began to ar-

rive. By midsummer of 1766, six or seven families had located there.[69]

A writer of early times records that, in the year 1765, he was living in Raccoon Valley, near the foot of the Tuscarora mountain, in what is now Perry county, Pennsylvania,—when, upon a certain Saturday evening a report came that the Indians had begun to murder the white people. The next day in the forenoon, while the children of the family were outside the house, they espied three Indians coming across the meadow, a few rods from them. They ran in and informed their parents, who were considerably alarmed. The Indians, however, set their guns down on the outside of the house and went in. They were invited to take seats which they did. After dinner, they sat a considerable time. One could speak tolerable good English. The other two spoke nothing but their own language. They appeared to be making observations on the large wooden chimney, —looking up it, and laughing. This the family supposed was on account of a man, on the Juniata, not far distant, having made his escape up one when his house was attacked by Indians. One of the little girls, a sister of the narrator, then a child of three or four years, having very white curly hair,—they took hold of it, stretching it up. It was conjectured they were saying "this would make a nice scalp," or that they had seen such. Otherwise, the Indians behaved with civility.

After some time, when it was seen that the three visitors had no hostile intentions, one of the boys took the Bible and read them two or three chapters from the book of Judges, respecting Sampson and the Philistines. The one that could speak English paid great attention to what was read. The father of the family, upon observing this, took occasion to mention to him what a great benefit it would be to the Indians to learn to read. "O!" said he, "a great many Indians on the Mohawk river can read the book which speaks of God." After remaining in the house about two hours, they took their departure towards the Kishacoquillas Valley. In a few days the family was informed that the Indian who spoke the English language was a chief—Captain John Logan.[70]

Many are the legendary tales told of Logan during his five

years' residence—from 1765 to 1770—in the valley of the Kishacoquillas. He seems to have been a general favorite with the early settlers there. One of these, while in pursuit of a bear, came suddenly upon a fine spring, and being thirsty laid down to drink. Just then he saw reflected in the water, on the opposite side, the shadow of a tall Indian. He sprang up, when the savage gave a yell,—whether for peace or war, the hunter was not just then sufficiently master of his faculties to determine. However, upon seizing his rifle, and facing the Indian, the latter knocked up the pan of his gun, threw out the priming, and extended his hand. It proved to be Logan—the best specimen of a man, white or red, the relator declared, he ever met with. Logan "could speak a little English" and told the hunter there was another one a little way down the stream, and offered to guide him to his his camp.

Another settler once shot at a mark with Logan at a dollar a round. The Chief lost four or five shots in succession, and acknowledged himself beaten. He thereupon went into his cabin; brought out as many deerskins as he had lost dollars, and handed them to his opponent, who refused to take them, alleging that he was simply his guest and did not come to take his property; that the shooting was only a trial of skill between them; and the bet merely nominal. Logan drew himself up with great dignity and said: "I bet to make you shoot your best. I am a gentleman, and would have taken your money had I won." So the settler was obliged to take the skins or affront his friend, whose nice sense of honor would not permit him to receive even a horn of powder in return.

While in the Valley, Logan supported his family by killing deer, dressing the skins, and selling them to the settlers. He had disposed of a number to a tailor who lived in an adjoining valley. Tailors, in those days, dealt extensively in buckskin breeches. Logan received his pay in wheat, according to agreement. The grain upon being taken to the mill, was was found so worthless that miller refused to grind it. Logan was much chagrined, and attempted in vain to obtain redress. He then took the matter before a magistrate. That officer questioned him as to the character of the wheat, and what was in it; but Logan

sought in vain for words to express the precise nature of the article with which the grain was adulterated, but said it resembled in appearance the wheat itself. "It must have been cheat" said the magistrate. "Yes," said the chief, "that is a very good name for it!" A decision was rendered in Logan's favor and a writ given him to hand to the constable, which, he was told, would bring him the money for the skins. But this the chief could not comprehend. He could not see by what magic the paper would force the tailor against his will to do him justice. The magistrate showed him his commission, having the arms of the king upon it, and explained the first principles and operations of civil jurisprudence. "Very good law," said Logan, "it makes rogues pay!"[71]

One of the early occupants of the valley was a neighbor of Logan. One day, during the absence of the settler, he came to his house and having gained the confidence of his little son, carried him off through the woods to his cabin. The lone and terrified mother dared not resist; but after several hours of fearful anxiety, she determined to follow at any risk and rescue her child. Her relief can scarcely be imagined when she met the friendly chief bringing her little boy in his arms, having on his feet a pair of beautiful beaded moccasins—the gift of Logan.[72] Another mother had a similar experience; but it was a little daughter this time, that was carried off. She was just beginning to walk, when the parent expressed her regret, in the chief's presence, that she could not get a pair of shoes to give more firmness to her little step. Logan stood by, but said nothing. Soon, however, he asked the mother to let the girl go with him and spend the day at his cabin; but her cautious heart was alarmed at such a proposition. With apparent cheerfulness but secret reluctance, she complied with the request. At sundown the child was brought back shod with a dainty pair of moccasins, wrought by Logan's own hands.

The course of the Indian, like that of empire, is westward; —and Logan turned his eyes toward the region of the setting sun. Leaving the valley of the Kishacoquillas, he moved up the Juniata to the Standing Stone,[74] now Huntingdon, Pennsylvania. Before taking his departure, he carved, it is said, with his

hatchet, on the trunk of a royal oak, the full-length image of an Indian, brandishing, in his right hand, a tomahawk. This "monarch of the forest trees" stood there, long after the chief had gone, attracting the attention of the curious.[75] A fine spring in the valley still perpetuates the name of Logan.[76] Crossing the Alleghanies, the son of Shikelimo did not rest his feet until the Ohio was reached; which, at least as early as the Summer of 1772.[77] Upon the "Beautiful River" or some of its branches, Logan spent the residue of his years.

Upon the arrival of Logan in the trans-Alleghany country he made his camp at the mouth of the Big Beaver, upon the northern site of Beaver, Pennsylvania.[78] He was a frequent visitor at Pittsburgh then an insignificant village of about thirty log houses.[79] A pious missionary, who was then visiting that town, was not favorably impressed with the moral condition of things. "About every day," says he, "since our arrival, we have had the disagreeable sight of drunken Indians staggering through the streets;—as this is the most frontier settlement of the English, and the chief place of rendezvous where the miserable creatures frequently meet for the sake of a drunken frolic."[80] Logan's appetite for rum had already become his besetting sin. His indulgence was so great as to bring on occasional attacks of delirium tremens. "Wherever I go," said he, at this time, when suffering from a debauch, "the devils are pursuing me. If I go into my cabin, it is full of them; and the air itself is full of them. They hunt me by day and by night. They seem to want to catch me and throw me into a great deep pit, full of fire!"[81]

The Spring of 1773 found Logan farther down the Ohio than the mouth of Big Beaver.[82] At this time, there was a village of Mingoes—Iroquois—at Mingo Bottom, on the west or Indian side of the Ohio, nearly three miles below the present city of Steubenville, in Jefferson county, Ohio. By the Fall of that year, these Indians—off-shoots or colonists of the Six Nations—had left that locality, removing to Pluggy's-town on the Scioto. But Logan and his friends and relatives—also Mingoes[83]—remained upon the Ohio; where, at or near the mouth of the Big Yellow Creek, fifty-five miles below Pittsburgh, they

had, in the Spring of 1774, "a hunting camp, composed of men, women and children."[64]

For ten years subsequent to Pontiac's War, there was peace all along the frontiers from Lake Erie to the Gulf of Mexico but in reality a nominal one only; for, as the natural result of the ever-increasing numbers of one race crowding in upon the ever-decreasing population of another—"while neither the savages of the one, nor the hardy woodsmen of the other were prepared, by continuous forbearance, to avoid a conflict"—murders were frequent. Here, a trader was killed; there, a peaceable settler. Here, an Indian was shot while hunting in the forest or paddling his canoe upon the Ohio; there, another was slain in the cabin of the white man. Then, whole parties were killed, on either side; culminating, finally, in the Indian War of 1774, generally known as Lord Dunmore's War.

Pennsylvania was not brought as close to the western Indians as Virginia; and her intercourse with the savages was mostly through the channels of trade. She enjoyed, therefore, a large immunity from savages attrocities. With Virginia, the case was very different. Her borders were the Ohio—her settlements crowding down that river, out-running treaties with the Indians, and rapidly moving toward Kentucky. Besides, she then claimed Pittsburg and its surroundings. So, while Pennsylvania strove to conciliate the savages thereby to avoid their wrath, Virginia, goaded by their hostilities, determined to punish them for their continued aggressions;—and for such they seemed to her Government.

Logan, at Yellow Creek, was not an indifferent spectator of the events transpiring around him; yet he counselled peace. "I admit," said he to the assembled Mingoes, "that you have just cause of complaint." "But you must remember," he added, "that you, too, have sometimes been in the wrong. By war, you can only harass and distress the frontier settlements for a time, then the Virginians will come like the trees in the woods in number, and drive you from the good lands you possess—from the hunting grounds so dear to you." Meanwhile, the contest was gradually increasing in intensity and drawing nearer and nearer to the camp of Logan. Unfortunately, his endeavors to restrain

his followers did not succeed; as some of them soon determined to take up the hatchet—at least, to the extent of killing a family of Virginians the nearest to their locality;[85] the members of which were Joshua Baker, his wife and children, then living just opposite the mouth of Yellow Creek. A friendly intercourse had been kept up between these people and the Mingoes, until the evening of the twenty-ninth of April, when one of the squaws who had been particularly befriended by Baker's wife, came over the river and after considerable hesitation disclosed to her that the Indians the next day were going to kill her and all her family. Just what particular act or acts prompted this sudden determination[86] of the friends of Logan, it is left to conjecture to determine.

Indians had very recently been killed upon the Ohio, below them, and only the night pervious, it is said, two had been shot close to Logan's camp.[67] The warning of the friendly squaw was at once heeded by Baker, who, before morning, had several frontier men, well armed, gathered at his house, where they were secreted to await the coming events.

Early in the morning of the thirtieth, a party, consisting of four unarmed Indians, and three squaws,—one of whom brought with her a child two months old—came over the river to Baker's cabin. Among them was John Petty, the youngest brother of Logan; also his mother and sister. The child was the daughter of the latter. The Indians, except Logan's brother, having obtained some rum, soon became excessively drunk. It had been previously arranged that two of Baker's friends should not conceal themselves but remain with him to watch the course of events. After some time, John Petty took down a coat and hat belonging to Baker's brother-in-law and putting them on strutted about the room; then, coming up abruptly to one of the boarders addressed him with very offensive language and attempted to strike him. The frontiersman thus assailed, kept out of his way for some time; finally, becoming irritated, he seized his gun and shot him as he was running for the door. The report of the rifle brought the hidden party at once from their place of concealment. In a few moments every Mingo was killed, except

the child. Thus perished the relatives of Logan—all but his "cousin," as he was wont to call his little niece.

While these events were transpiring, two canoes were observed putting out from the Mingo camp and steering across the river. In one, there were two Indians; in the other, five; all were naked and painted and armed. The frontiersmen thereupon ranged themselves under cover of some bushes along the bank ready to receive the canoes. The foremost one carried the two Indians. Both these were killed at the first fire of the bordermen. The other canoe then went back. After this, two other canoes started across, one containing eleven, the other seven Indians painted and armed as the first. These attempted to land below; but being fired upon, they retreated, with one of their number killed, at the same time, returning the fire, but with no harm to the Virginians.[88]

Logan now smothered down the promptings of his better nature. He gave full play to his savage instincts. Vengeance was his from the moment he heard the sad news of the killing of his relatives. Wo to the hapless victim upon the frontier, young or old, male or female, who should be startled by his war-cry! Wo to the father or mother, brother or sister, — decrepit age or the tender babe,—who should come in the way of his brandishing tomahawk! He was no longer "an advocate for peace." Now, his voice was for war—war to the knife.

Upon the west side of the Muskingum river at a point near the site of the present town of Dresden, Ohio, there was located, in 1774, the Shawanese Village of Wakatomica.[89] Here lived many of the friends of the slain at Baker's.[90]

Hither hastened Logan, breathing destruction and death to the Virginians. The Mingoes—mostly Senecas—followed him to the Muskingum.[91] The news they brought caused lamentation in the Shawanese town.[92] So enraged was Logan that he raised a party to cut off some traders among the Shawanese at a place then known as Canoe Bottom on the Hockhocking, where they were pressing their peltry preparatory to transhipping it to Pittsburgh; but the Indians with whom they had been trafficking protected them, else even Pennsylvanians would have

suffered from the wrath of the Mingo Chief. Indeed one was barbarously slain.[93]

On Monday, the nineteenth of May, 1774, Logan with a small party of Mingoes and Shawanese, for the second time started upon the war-path, from Wakatomica, now, however, on a maraud into the Virginia settlements—the first overt act of war, on his part against the borders. A still smaller number soon followed the others, making in all thirteen warriors. It was their intention to strike their blows on that part of the Ohio near where their friends had been killed or somewhere else below that point if practicable. They declared that as soon as they had taken revenge for their people, they would then return home, sit down and listen to their chiefs who advised against their taking up the hatchet.[94]

Logan and his warriors were out about two weeks before they found a good opportunity to commence the work of death; and, instead of the Ohio, it was upon the west side of the Monongahela in the settlements on Tenmile, Dunkard, Whitely, and Muddy creeks—then claimed as a part of Virginia—that their depredations began. Stealthily they came upon the settlers. The first who fell victims to their vengeance were a man by the name of Spicer, his wife and five children, living at Meadow Run on Dunkard's creek. Two others of the children—Betsey, a girl eleven years of age, and William, nine years old—were taken prisoners. The former was afterward given up; the latter spent most of his life with the Indians. After the taking of sixteen scalps in all, Logan and his warriors, with their two prisoners, returned to Wakatomica. His success had now somewhat appeased his wrath; and he seemed ready to listen to the counsels of the Shawanese chiefs, who had vainly endeavored, before his setting out, to restrain his bloodthirsty animosity against the Long Knives.[95] By this time, however,—the last of June—even the Shawanese were beginning to waver. So Logan, in a few days, was again upon the warpath.

On the twelfth of July, as William Robinson and two others were pulling flax in a field upon the West Fork of the Monongahela, opposite the mouth of Simpson's creek, in what is now Harrison county, West Virginia, Logan with a party of seven

warriors approached unperceived and fired at them. One by the name of Brown was killed; the others were made prisoners. The Indians now set out on their return to Wakatomica, taking with them a horse belonging to Hellen. They reached the village on the eighteenth when both prisoners were compelled to run the gauntlet. Ever since the capture, Logan had manifested a friendly disposition to Robinson, who having been tied to a stake, preparatory to being tortured, had his life saved by that chief. He was then adopted by Logan in place of a warrior killed at Baker's; his intention being, should an opportunity present itself, to have him exchanged for his "cousin"—the young child saved from the general massacre on the thirtieth of April; but such an occasion not occurring, Robinson was finally delivered up, under other stipulations. Logan, thereupon, made immediate preparation for another war-expedition. On the twenty-first, he brought Robinson, who was then in a Shawanese village near Wapatomica, a piece of paper and told him he must write a letter which he intended to carry with him and leave in some house where he should kill some one. After making ink of gunpowder, he instructed his amanuensis to address the note to Captain Michael Cresap, who he supposed—but in this he was mistaken —had killed his relatives at Baker's Bottom, or commanded the party upon that occasion. Robinson, from Logan's dictation, wrote as follows:

To Captain Cresap:

What did you kill my People on Yellow Creek for? The White People killed my Kin at Conestoga a great while ago & I thought nothing of that; but you killed my Kin again on Yellow Creek, and took my Cousin Prisoner. Then I thought I must kill too; and I have been three times to War since; but the Indians is not angry only myself.

CAPTAIN JOHN LOGAN,
July 21 Day, 1774.

With this letter — "savagely circumstantial and circumstantial savage"—Logan started upon his fourth maraud.[96]

The settlements next to suffer from the malignity and implacable animosity of Logan were in the Southwestern corner of Virginia, upon the waters of the Holston and Clinch. This

region was a long distance from Wakatomica; and Logan and his party did not reach it until near the middle of September. The letter written by Robinson was left in the house of John Roberts, upon Reedy Creek, a branch of Holston. It was found tied to a war-club among the mangled remains of the slain family. The presence of the hostile savages caused great excitement among the settlers. Several were killed, while a son of Roberts and two negroes belonging to a man by the name of Blackmore living upon Clinch, were taken prisoners.[97]

With his captives and booty, Logan retraced his steps to the Ohio, crossing that stream about the middle of October. In the meantime, the Shawanese and Mingoes had been driven from the Muskingum to the Scioto by the Virginians; so Logan and his party sought their friends upon that river, at Chillicothe,[98] the principal Shawanese village,—now Westfall, Pickaway county, Ohio. The son of Shikelimo had by this time fully "glutted his vengeance" upon the hated Virginians. He brought with him not less than five scalps from this his last foray. These were not exhibited as trophies of his prowess, but to show his deadly thirst for revenge upon the people who had slain his relatives.

Great were the events which had occurred upon the Muskingum and the Ohio during the absence of Logan. His raids upon the Monongahela settlements had hastened the Virginians in their resort to arms. The Shawanese, as well as the Mingoes, had become involved in the contest. Late in July, four hundred men crossed the Ohio under Major Angus McDonald and easily in August laid waste not only Wakatomica but several contiguous villages of the Shawanese.[99] This had aroused that nation to a most determined effort. Sympathizing with them and indeed finally coming to their aid against the Long Knives, were warriors of the Delawares upon the Muskingum, of the Wyandots upon the Sandusky, of the Ottawas upon the Maumee, and of the Miamis upon that river and the Wabash. The vagrant Mingoes, who had villages upon the Scioto, were, of all the Indians, the most vindictive against the Virginians.[100] A few renegade Cherokees also took part in the war. No nation however as a whole took up the hatchet except the Shawanese.

Logan, upon his arrival at Chillicothe learned that Lewis' army was rapidly approaching the Scioto. He saw around him everywhere that active war-like preparations had been made to meet the expected coming of the Long Knives. He heard the tales of the warriors, concerning a great battle they had fought a few days previous—October the tenth—at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. He knew but too well they must have been discomfited by the Virginians. The Shawanese had seen that a conjunction of the two parties was inevitable; so they haste to treat with Lord Dunmore. Conferences had been held preliminary to a treaty. Some distance from the spot, Logan, to one of Dunmore's interpreters, spoke the following speech, desiring it might be delivered to the Governor:[102]

"I appeal to any white man to say that he ever entered Logan's cabin but I gave him meat; that he ever came naked but I clothed him. In the course of the last war, Logan remained in his cabin an advocate for peace. I had such an affection for the white people, that I was pointed at by the rest of my nation. I should have ever lived with them, had it not been for Colonel Cresap, who last Spring cut off, in cold blood, all the relatives of Logan, not sparing women and children: There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any human creature. This called upon me for revenge; I have sought it, I have killed many, and fully glutted my revenge. I am glad that there is a prospect of peace on account of the nation; but I beg you will not entertain a thought that anything I have said proceeds from fear! Logan disdains the thought! He will not turn on his heel to save his life! Who is there to mourn for Logan?—No one."[103]

"I may challenge," says Jefferson, "the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator—if Europe has furnished any more eminent—to produce a single passage superior to this speech."[104] "Nothing can be imagined," are the words of an American historian, "more venerable than the strain of tender and lofty sentiment running through this short address. Parts of it rise into the highest order of moral sublimity. It reminds us of Ossian, 'the last of his race'; of

Fingal, 'in the last of his fields.' "[105] "It was uttered," writes a learned jurist, "in accents dictated by an abiding sense of his wrongs, and in tones expressive of the hopeless desolation of his heart. It was its last passionate throb. The man was done with impulses, even of revenge."[106]

And thus an accomplished scholar of our own times: "The speech was repeated throughout the North American colonies as a lesson of eloquence in the schools, and copies upon the pages of literary Journals in Great Britain and on the Continent. This brief effusion of mingled pride, courage and sorrow elevated the character of the native American throughout the intelligent world."[108]

The treaty entered into between the Shawanese and Lord Dunmore adjusted all important differences; but the Mingoes were not a party to it. They stood aloof. They did not share in the sentiment of their chief as to the "prospect or peace." They wanted none. Thereupon the Virginia Governor resolved they should be pursued up the Scioto. Major William Crawford with two hundred and forty men marched against them. Seekunk was destroyed. Six Mingoes were killed and a number made prisoners. A considerable amount of plunder consisting of Indian goods, horses, silver trinkets and other articles, were captured.[109] Thus ended the Indian War of 1774. The Virginians returned to their homes; and their Assembly declared Dunmore's conduct in the Campaign "noble wise and spirited." Time has confirmed its judgment.

From Chillicothe Logan made his way to Pluggy's-town. To this village, the Mingo prisoners captured by Crawford and taken to Fort Pitt for safe keeping, returned after several months detention,[110]—their people, in the Spring of 1775, manifesting a sincere desire for peace,[111] and joining in the Autumn of that year with other nations in a treaty with Virginians and Congressional commissioners.[112] But their friendship was of short duration; for the very next year they had again become troublesome to the Virginia border, being now under British influence.[113].

Logan carried with him to Pluggy's-town the same feelings —the same spirit—manifested in his speech to Lord Dunmore.

He no longer sought revenge against the Virginians; he brooded over his misfortunes; he became more intemperate; he often repeated the story of his wrongs and as often recounted his exploits connected with their requital.[114] When in 1776, his people again began to show their animosity he apologized for their conduct and remained in his cabin. "We hear bad news," said he. "Some of us are constantly threatened. We are informed that a great reward is offered to any person who will take or entice either of us to Pittsburg, where we are to be hung up like dogs by the Big Knife. This being true, how can we think of what is good. That it is true, we have no doubt.[115]

Although Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton, in the service of Great Britain, had as early as September, 1776, exerted himself at Detroit—then the center of British influence in the Far West—to organize small parties of savages against "the scattered settlers in the Ohio and its branches," yet the war upon the Western border was not fully commenced by British Indians for nearly a year afterward. But the frontiers of Virginia, in the meantime, were sorely afflicted with savage incursions, mostly by the lawless gang of Mingoes of Pluggy's-town. These Indians having in reality no tribal organization, marauded upon the settlements independent of surrounding nations. It is not known, however, that Logan took part in any of their raids. The death of their leader—the Mohawk Pluggy—who was shot at the attack upon McClelland's fort, in Kentucky, at the close of 1776,[116] somewhat abated their activity; but their depredations were sufficiently galling in the Spring of 1777, to induce the Governor of Virginia to organize an expedition against them; which was abandoned, finally, for fear of a general Indian war, should the Mingoes be attacked.

Afterwards, the machinations of the British, through the instrumentality of agents and traders, having secured the alliance of the Shawanese and Wyandots in hostility to the Americans, the Mingoes joined these confederated nations. Meanwhile Pluggy's-town was deserted by its occupants, Logan and his friends moving still farther up the Scioto—near the head springs of that river, in what is now Hardin county, Ohio; also upon

the upper waters of Mad river in the present county of Logan, adjoining Hardin on the south.

In the Fall of 1778, Logan occupied "a little winter town used for hunting" on the Scioto. It was situated on the Indian trace leading from the Indian village of Wapatomica, in what is now Logan county, to the Wyandot town of Upper Sandusky, in the present county of Wyandot, Ohio. Simon Kenton, who was then a prisoner among the Indians, saw the chief at his village. Logan, learning his fate, and commiserating his condition, said, "I will send two men to Sandusky to speak a good word for you." He did so; and the prisoner who had been condemned to be tortured at the stake was, through his instrumentality, taken safely to Detroit, where he was out of danger from the infuriated savages.[117] Logan continued his good offices to persons captured by the British Indians. In 1779 he adopted in his family a white female captive as his sister in place of the one killed at Baker's.[118]

It was not until the Western border war of the revolution had continued fully three years, that Logan appears as an actor on the side of the British Indians against the Americans. In 1780, the plan of an expedition was laid by the British at Detroit, to break up the settlements in Kentucky. To effect this project, a force of British Indians with some soldiers of the regular army and a number of Canadian volunteers, marched for the Ohio. With them was Logan. The whole was under the command of Captain Henry Bird. After crossing into Kentucky, the army ascended the Licking river and captured Ruddell's and Martin's Stations. The enemy then re-crossed the Ohio, without further molesting the settlements. Many prisoners were carried into captivity by the savages.[119] Logan had frequent conversations with some of these unfortunate persons. His remarks, afterward related by one of the captives, concerning his disposition and belief, are of interest: "I know," said he, "that I have two souls; the one good, the other bad. When the good soul has the ascendant, I am kind and humane. When the bad soul rules, I am perfectly savage and delight in nothing but blood and carnage."[120]

Soon after the expedition into Kentucky, Logan visited De-

troit. On his journey homeward, at a noted camping-place, four miles south of Brownstown, on the bank of a small creek, upon the trace leading to Sandusky and his town upon the Scioto, he was killed, because of an insult, fancied or real, by one of his own friends—a Mingo. The next morning, one of the party returned to Brownstown and gave information of what had happened. A number of leading Wyandots went out, brought in his body and buried it in the burial place of their village.[121] Thus miserably perished Logan—the Mingo Chief, as renowned an Indian, perhaps, as the world has ever known.

Logan was a tall man considerably above six feet in height, strong and well proportioned. He had a brave, open, manly countenance. He was as straight as an arrow, and to appearance would not be afraid to meet anyone in a personal encounter. He weighed about two hundred pounds,—had a full chest, and prominent and expansive features. To those who were ignorant of his paternity, his complexion seemed very white for a savage. His talk and actions showed the effects of his intercourse with the English. He was, when sober, dignified and reserved, but frank and honest; when intoxicated, he was vain, boastful and foolish.[122]

For sterling integrity, kindness of disposition, quickness of comprehension and solidity of judgment, few of any North American Indians have equaled Logan. As an orator, he stands unrivaled. The famous Red Jacket took him for his model.[123] Nature has implanted in the savage the faculty of appreciating beauty; and this faculty joined to limited endowments of reason and speech constitutes the elements of their rude oratory. Hence their proneness to indulge in extravagant metaphor. Their declamation is but little more than uneducated harrangue, heightened by comparison with natural objects, and giving off occasional corruscations of strong and vehement passion.[124] But the oratory of Logan was cast in altogether a different mould. It was born, it is true, in the deep shades of the forest—in the darkness of ignorance—but a keen discernment illuminated it, until it shone in a splendor truly wonderful. His words were never figurative: their power lay in their truthfulness and relevancy.

REFERENCES.

[1] Bartram's Travels (Lond. 1751), p. 17.

[2] Loskiel's Hist. Morav. Miss., P. II, p. 120.

[3] Bartram's Travels, p. 17.

[4] Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, Vol. I, p. 83, note.

[5] Synonyms: Shikellimus, Sichalamy, Shikellamy, etc. More than thirty different methods of spelling this name have been noticed. Shikellimo had two other Indian names: Swadamy, Swatana, or Swatane; and the unpronounceable one of Unguatenighiathe. Mass. Hist. Coll., 1st Series, Vol. VII, p. 195. Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, Vol. I, p. 83. Colden's Hist. Five Nations, II, p. 12. Schweinitz' Zeisberger, p. 109 note.

[6] Bartram's Travels, p. 17.

[7] Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, Vol. I, p. 83 note.

[8] Bartram's Travels, p. 17.

[9] Colden II, p. 12. Hist. Coll. of Mass., 1st Series, Vol. VII, p. 195. Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, Vol. I, p. 83. Penn. Arch. Vol. I, pp. 495-497, 656. Schweinitz' Zeisberger, p. 10 note.

[10] Penn. Arch. I, p. 228. Col. Rec. Penn., Vol. III, pp. 330, 337, 404. Day's Hist. Pa., 525. "A guide to the wild Shawanese." Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, Vol. I, p. 98.

[11] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, P. IV, pp. 324-341. Bartram's Travels, p. 20.

[12] See, in general, Penn. Arch., Vols. I and II; Col. Rec. of Penn., Vols. III, IV and V; Loskiel's Hist. Morav. Miss.; Schweinitz' Zeisberger; Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, Vol. I; Rupp's Hist. Berkes County etc., also, his Hist. Dauphin County, etc.; and Day's Hist. Coll. Penn.

[13] Col. Rec. Penn. IV, 307. Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, Vol. I, 83, 90. Schweinitz' Zeisberger, p. 150.

[14] "On the sixth of December, (1748)": Schweinitz. "December 17, 1748": Reichel. Loskiel (P. II, p. 119) mistakes the year. Compare Penn. Arch. II, 23.

[15] Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, Vol. I, p. 90 note.

[16] As, by this name, he is best known to the world, it has been retained throughout this chapter.

[17] The orthography of Logan's Indian name is as various as that of his father's. See Penn. Arch., I, 656, 750, — II, 23, 33, 34, 776, — IV, 91; Col. Rec. Penn. III, 435, 500, — V, 84, — VI, 120, — VIII, 729; Colden's Hist. Five Nations, II, 13; Rupp's Dauphin County, etc., p. 304, — Northumberland County, etc., p. 459; Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, I, 84, 261.

[18] Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, Vol. I, p. 84.

[19] "Taghneghdoarns, Shickelimy's eldest son:" Conrad Weiser to Gov. Hamilton, in Penn. Arch., II, 23. Same in Rupp's Hist. Dauphin County, etc., p. 319.

[20] Col. Rec. Penn. VI, 420, 421; — VII, 47, 65, 171, 244, — VIII, p. 729. Penn. Arch. II, 167, 634, 664, 776; — III, 721, 727, 728, 729, 730; — IV, 91. Rupp's Dauphin County, etc., 84, 100, 259, 316; — Berkes County etc., 39; — Northumberland County, etc., 109, 116, 166, 226, 366, 456, 459; — Northampton County, etc., 103. Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, I, pp 84, 261. He was sometimes familiarly called Jack. See Col. Rec. Penn. IV, 685.

[21] As to the ancient seat of the Oneidas, See Cusick's Six Nations; Gallatin's Synopsis; Schoolcraft's Notes on the Iroquois; Morgan's League of the Iroquois; and Jones' Annals Oneida County, (N. Y.).

[22] "His (Shikelimo's) son told me he (the son) was the *Cayuga* nation — that of the mother:" Bartram. Compare Penn. Arch., IV, 91.

[23] The fact of Logan being a Cayuga and his father an Oneida (by adoption) explains why so much confusion is observable in the giving of their titles by historians. Shikellmo was an *Oneida* chief; Logan became, as will be presently seen, a *Cayuga* sachem. For additional evidence of Logan's being a *mixt-breed,* see Mayer's Logan and Cresap, p. III note.

[24] Logan appeared along with his father, in council, as early as 1733. Col. Rec. Penn., III, 500.

[25] Extract from the Autobiography of Martin Mack, in Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, I, 66.

[26] Bartram (1743) in his "Travels", p. 16.

[27] Edward's Life of Brainerd, p. 167. Compare Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, p. 66 note.

[28] Penn. Arch., I, 241.

[29] "Sayughtowa": Penn. Arch., II, 776. "Soyeghtowa": Penn. Arch. IV, 91.

[30] Penn. Arch., IV, 91. Col. Rec. Penn., VI, 649, — VII, 640, 649. Rupp's Northumberland County, etc., 459. Compare Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church I, p. 84 note. He was lame. See Rupp's Northumberland County, etc., p. 456.

[31] Penn. Arch. IV, 91. See also Rupp's Northumberland County, etc. 459, where he is spoken of as "John Petty's Sicalamy;" Col. Rec. Penn. VIII, 212, 263, 264.

[32] Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, Vol. I, p. 84 note. See, as to the trader, Penn. Arch. I., 216, 227-229, 232, Col. Rec. Penn. III, 330.

[33] Penn. Arch. I, 665.

[34] Ibid. Weiser and others so frequently vary the spelling of the Oneida Chief's name that the one previously used in the text is retained in this extract, as well as in those which follow in this chapter.

[35] Rupp's Berks County, etc., p. 213. Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, Vol. I, 83.

[36] Col. Rec. Penn. VII, p. 47. Rupp's Northumberland County, etc., 117. Rupp's Dauphin County, etc., 100 note.

[37] A son of one of his sisters took up the hatchet against the English in the Old French War, and was killed and scalped on the 20th Feb., 1756, on Middle creek, in what is now Union County, Pennsylvania. — Rupp's Dauphin County, etc., p. 99.

[44] Penn. Arch. I 750. Col. Penn. V, 83.

[45] Col. Rec. Penn. VI, 212, 222, etc.

[46] Col. Rec. Penn. III, 500. Colden's Hist. Five Nations, II, 13.

[47] An Indian never transacts public business while in mourning. Logan's wife died early in October, 1747, at Shamokin, of fever. His children, it seems, afterward went to live with their Conestoga aunt. Rupp's Dauphin County, etc., p. 100 notes; — Northumberland County, etc., p. 117. Logan soon married again. His second wife was a Shawanese and could speak English. There was no issue by the last marriage

[48] Penn. Arch II, 8.

[49] Schweinitz' Zeisberger, 151. Shikelimo "fell happily asleep asleep in the Lord, in full assurance of obtaining eternal life, through the merits of Jesus Christ." — Loskiel, P. II, p. 120.

[50] Penn. Arch. II, 23.

[51] Penn. Arch. II, 23.

[52] "Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians (Lond., 1759)," p. 50.

[53] Penn. Arch. II, 33-36.

[54] Morgan's League of the Iroquois, p. 100 note. Compare Col. Rec. Penn. VI, 119, — VIII, 729; Penn. Arch. IV, 91.

[55] Rupp's Dauphin County, etc., p. 574.

[56] Penn. Arch. II, 166, 167. Col. Rec. Penn. VI, 118-122, 216.

[57] Col. Rec. Penn., VI, 420.

[58] Penn. Arch. II, 777.

[59] Col. Rec. Penn. VI, 763, — VII, 65.

[60] Col. Rec. Penn. VII, 64, 65.

[61] Col. Rec. Penn. VII, 46-54.

[62] Rupp's Dauphin County, etc., p. 100 note.

[63] Penn. Arch. II, 634, 778.

[64] Col. Rec. Penn. VII, 147, 171.

[65] Col. Rec. Penn. VII, 244, 245. Reichel's Mem. Morav. Church, 261, 265.

[66] Penn. Arch. VII, 776.

[67] Penn. Arch., III, 699, 701, 713, 721, 727-730.

[68] Penn. Arch. IV, 91. Cl. Rec. Penn. VIII, 729-774.

[69] Rupp's Northumberland County, etc., pp. 47, 227. Day's Pennsylvania, p. 466. Beatty's Journal (Lond., 1768), p. 19.

[70] Archibald Loudon, in his Hist. Ind. Wars (Carlisle, 1811), Vol. II, pp. 223-225. The date (1765) given in this connection is the earliest mention of the change of the chief's name, as known to the whites, from "John Shikelimo" to "Capt. John Logan." The reason for the

change must be left entirely to conjecture. His younger brother, the second son of Shikelimo, being known as "James Logan," the two have been frequently confounded. Heckewelder, in App. to Jefferson's Notes copied from the MSS. of Rev. C. Pyrlaus that "Logan was the second son of Shikellemus." He was; — but it was "James Logan," not "Capt. John Logan." It may be proper here to mention that a Shamokin Indian whose name was "Jonathan," has been frequently, though erroneously, named as one of Logan's brothers. Concerning this Indian, see Penn. Arch., VII, 64, 66, 68, 72. Col. Rec. Penn., VI, 640. Rupp's Berks County, etc., pp. 40, 41.

[71] Day's Pennsylvania, 467, 468.

[72] Cecil (Md.) Whig, 12 Sept., 1874.

[73] Day's Pennsylvania, p. 468. The child was Mary Brown, born in 1769.

[74] Jones' Hist. Juniata Valley, p. 114.

[75] The Cecil (Md.) Whig, 12 Sept., 1874.

[76] Day's Pennsylvania, p. 467.

[77] McClure and Parish's Mem. of Rev. E. Wheelock, D. D., p. 139. Wheelock's Narr. (Hartford, 1773), p. 50. Heckewelder's Declaration, in App. to Jefferson's notes on Va.

[78] Heckewelder, in App. to Jefferson's Notes on Va. McClure and Parish's Mem. of Dr. Wheelock, p. 140.

[79] Mem. of Wheelock, p. 140.

[80] Wheelock's Ind. Char. School (Hartford, 1773), p. 50.

[81] Mem. of Wheelock, pp. 140, 141. The words of Logan, and his appearance, as described by the Rev. David Maccluer, in the work just cited, (see, also, Indian Charity School, 1772-3), seem to leave no doubt as to the real cause of Logan's suffering, although the zealous-hearted missionary gives them another interpretation.

[82] Heckewelder, in his Declaration, in App. to Jefferson's Notes on Va., mentions Logan's intention (in 1772) "to settle on the Ohio, below Beaver." The Moravian also speaks, in the same connection, of calling, in April, 1773, "at Logan's settlement," on his passage down the river.

[83] Hence the appellation — "Logan, the Mingo Chief."

[84] "With all their stuff with them:" G. R. Clark to S. B. Brown, 17 June, 1798, in Dep. of State, Washington. This letter has been frequently published. See Heperian, Vol. II, p. 308; Mayer's Logan and Cresap, 149; etc. Clark says Logan's Camp was "on the Ohio, about thirty miles above Wheeling;" an inadvertance as to the distance. The mouth of Big Yellow Creek is forty miles above. Logan's house was "a small Indian village on Yellow Creek:" Amer. Arch. 4th series, I, 345; N. Y. Col. Hist., VIII, 463; Pa. Journal, 29 June, 1774. Compare Mayer's Logan and Cresap, p. 162.

[85] MSS. of Henry Jolly. (These have been published. See Silli-

man's Journal, Vol. XXXI, No. 1) They were obtained from S. P. Hildreth, for whom they were written.

[86] Reliance has been placed in the Declaration of John Sappington, as published in Jefferson's Notes, for this statement as to the determination of the Mingoes.

[87] Whittlesey's Fugitive Essays, p. 134 note.

[88] Sappington's Declaration, in Jefferson's Notes. See, also, the Statement of Benjamin Tomlinson, in Jacob's Life of Cresap, pp. 107-109. Both these accounts are from parties themselves who participated in the affair and the only ones extant, not second-handed. They disagree as to the date of the transaction; and in that regard, both are in error. Valentine Crawford to Washington, 7 May, 1774, in Dep. of State, Washington. Compare, also, Amer. Arch. 4th series, Vol. I, p 345 with G. R. Clark's letter to S. Brown, 17 June, 1798. The testimony of Logan shows that his mother and sister were killed. Diary of James Wood, 1775: MS. Compare Jacob's Life of Cresap, p. 85. Wood's journal has never been published. Concerning his journey, see Jacob's Life of Cresap, 69; Almon's Remembrancer, 1775, p. 254; Va. Gaz., No. 1258. The party at Baker's had no leader — for the best of reasons; no one was needed. Daniel Greathouse was present as an active participant, but not otherwise. Captain Michael Cresap knew nothing of the transaction until some days subsequent to its occurrence. Compare in connection with, the statements of Sappington and Tomlinson, that of Meyers, in Whittlesey's Fugitive Essays, p. 134 note.

[89] Synonyms: Wappatomica, Waukataumikee, Wakatomaca, Waketameki, Waketummakie, etc. There was also a Shawanese village of the same name, afterward upon the headwaters of Mad river, in what is now Logan county, Ohio.

[90] Amer. Arch., 4th Series, Vol. I, p. 481.

[91] Heckewelder's Narr. Morav. Miss. p. 131.

[92] Jolly MSS.

[93] Amer. Arch., 4th Series, Vol. I, pp. 469, 474, 481, 483, 484. See, also, Penn. Arch., IV, 513, 527, 530; Heckewelder's Narr., pp. 131, 132, 133.

[94] John Connolly to Joel Reece, 27 May, 1774, in Jacob's Life of Cresap. Amer. Arch., 4th Series, Vol. I, pp. 464, 481, 482. Penn. Gaz., 8 June, 1774.

[95] MS. Narr. of John Crawford. Amer. Arch., 4th Series, Vol. I, 405, 435, 445, 469-472, 475. Penn. Arch., IV, 517, 519, 520, 525, 632. Concerning Wm. Spicer, See Indian Treaties (1837), p. 220; also His. Seneca County (O.), pp. 75, 123, 190.

[96] William Robinson's Declaration, in Jefferson's Notes. Statement of James Robinson, in Howe's Ohio, p. 268. MS. letter of James E. Robinson, 1 July, 1868. Arthur Campbell to Wm. Preston, 12 Oct., 1774; MS. letter. Withers' Border Warfare, pp. 118-120. The letter

of Logan, as given in the text, is a literal transcript of one copied from the original, by Col. Preston.

[97] MS. letters of Arthur Campbell to Wm. Preston in September and October and one from Wm. Christian to same, in November, 1774. See, also, Amer. Arch., 4th series, Vol. I, p. 808.

[98] "The chief town" in the Shawanese language. The name, at different times, was applied to several of their Towns: one about three miles north of the present town of Xenia; one on the site of the town of Frankfort, Ross county; another where the present city of Chillicothe stands; all in what is now the State of Ohio.

[99] Amer. Arch., 4th Series, Vol. I, pp. 722, 723.

[100] The Mingoes, in 1774, had two villages upon the waters of the Scioto: Pluggy's-town, about eighteen miles up that river above the site of the present city of Columbus, Ohio, near White Sulphur Springs, in Delaware county; and Licktown (Seekunk), a short distance eastward of the Scioto, on one of its branches, in what is now Franklin county, that State. *Seekunk* is a corruption of the Delaware *Kseek-heoong,* a place of salt. There was also a small village near the latter.

[102] The interpreter was John Gibson. "Gibson told Logan of his being sent to bring him to the treaty. He found him in a cabin with other Indians, when he told him his errand. Logan took Gibson aside, a little distance in the woods and they seated themselves on a log when they conversed freely on the subject of the war and the impending treaty. Logan was deeply exercised — even to tears. He said he could not go but that Gibson should deliver to Dunmore what he should say. He then delivered his speech. Gibson says he was struck with it as well as with the manner of its delivery; and that immediately upon his arrival at headquarters he reduced it to writing in English and handed it to Lord Dunmore." J. B. Gibson to J. W. Biddle — 1847. Compare Gibson's own Dep. in App. to Jefferson's Notes on Va.

[103] Copied verbatim from Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gazette of 4 Feb., 1775 (No. 1226), except that the word "Spring" is substituted for the word "year"; the use of the latter being, doubtless, an inadvertence in copying. The words were spoken by Logan in the Delaware language to Gibson, an interpreter fully competent to translate their precise meaning into English. Compare Mayer's Logan and Cresap, pp. 186-190. The second publication of the speech was in New York, 16 Feb., 1775. Amer. Arch., 4th Series, Vol. I, p. 1020 note. It differs somewhat from the Williamsburg version of the 4th of February, given in the text. The speech as printed by Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia, varies but little from the New York version. The speech, very soon after its delivery, was attempted to be rendered into French by M. l' Abbé Robin, a French Traveler then in America, but the effort was well-nigh a complete failure. See his *Nouveau Voyage dans L' Amérique Septentrionale, en l'Année,* 1781. *A Paris,* 1782, p. 147 note. The

error in the date, as given in that work, is probably a mistake of the printer; — or, it may have occurred in the translation.

[104] See his Notes on Virginia.

[105] John Burk in Hist. Va., III, 398.

[106] John Bannister Gibson. See Mayer's Logan and Cresap, 188.

[107] Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming; where the sentiment is transferred to another.

[108] Whittlesey in his Fugitive Essays, 145. Compare Clinton's Hist. Discourse, 1811.

[109] William Crawford to Washington, 14 Nov., 1774. MS. Amer. Arch., 4th Series, Vol. I, p. 1013. Withers' Border Warfare, 137. Report of a Committee of Va. Assembly, Dec. 9th, 1776, — from the Assembly Journal of that year. Verbal Statement of Samuel Murphy made in 1846. Seekunk (Lick-town) is given by Crawford as being forty miles away. Other statements make it about thirty miles from Camp Charlotte where the treaty was held with the Shawanese. Pluggy'stown was not attacked.

[110] MS. Journal of James Wood. Jacob's Life of Cresap, p. 85.

[111] Amer. Arch., 4 Series, Vol. I, p. 1226.

[112] Amer. Arch., 4 Series, Vol. III, p. 1542. The conference began 12 Sept. and ended 17 Oct.: Proceedings of the Treaty — MS. For further information concerning this Treaty, see Jour. of Cong. (old), Vol. I, pp. 112, 161, 162, 168, 201; Plain Facts (Philad'a 1781), p. 144. The Virginia Com. were Thomas Walker, Andrew Lewis, Adam Stephen, and James Wood. The Con. Com. were Lewis Morris, James Wilson and John Walker. These names appear in the MS. Proceedings of the Treaty. Compare Bancroft Hist. U. S., Vol. VII, pp. 109, 110.

[113] Hildreth's Pioneer Hist. 98-108.

[114] Wood's MS. Journal.

[115] Journals of Congress, Vol. II, (1776), p. 318. Miner's Wyoming, 183.

[116] Bradford's Notes on Kentucky, (Stipps Miscellany), pp. 25, 26.

[117] Verbal Statement of Kenton to John H. James, Feb., 1832. McDonald's Sketches, pp. 231, 232. McClurg's Western Adventure, p. 121.

[118] Heckewelder to Col. John Gibson, 19 March, 1779. MS. letter in Dept. of State, Washington.

[119] For many interesting particulars of Bird's expedition, see Stipp's Miscellany, p. 56 *et seq.* The commander was a Captain of the Eighth, (or the King's) Regiment of Foot.

[120] Amer. Pioneer, Vol. I, p. 359.

[121] Verbal Statement of William Walker, 1868. Compare, also, Amer. Pioneer, I, 359; Heckewelder's Declaration in Jefferson's Notes; Howe's Ohio Hist. Coll., p. 409; Mayer's Logan and Cresap, pp. 138, 139, 185. That Logan was killed in the latter part of the year 1780, there can be no doubt. John Todd to Gov. Jefferson, 24 Jan., 1781, in Jef-

ferson MSS.; Dept. of State, Washington. Vigne's Six Months in America (p. 30) gives a highly sensational account of Logan's death.

[122] For description of Logan's personal appearance at different periods, see Loudon's Ind. Wars, II, 225; Day's Hist. Coll. Penn. p. 467; Jones' Hist. Juniata Valley, 114; Wheelock's Mem., p. 139, 141; Mayer's Logan and Cresap, p. 59.

[123] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, V. 669. Turner's Hist. of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, (N. Y.), p. 487.

[124] "A language extremely deficient in words of general and abstract signification renders the use of figures indispensible; and it is from this cause, above all others, that the flowers of Indian rhetoric derive their origin:" Parkman's Pontiac (6th ed.) Vol. II, p. 296 note.

THE KENDAL COMMUNITY.

WENDALL P. FOX, MASSILLON.

[The following article concerning the "Kendal Community" was secured for publication through the courtesy of Mr. Wendall P. Fox of Massillon, Ohio. Mr. Fox in an explanatory letter to the Editor makes the statement a portion of which we use as a preface to the article itself.—E. O. R.]

PREFACE.

According to the "History of Stark County" the first settlers came to Perry township in the summer of 1806. Perry township included the territory occupied by the city of Massillon and the old village of Kendal is included within the present corporate limits of the city. The township of Perry was created in 1813.

The inhabitants of the township were directed by the commissioners to meet at the house of Samuel Patton, in Kendal, on the last Saturday of February, 1814, to elect township officers. From this it may be seen that the village of Kendal was in existence before Perry township was organized. From the source mentioned above we learn that the first religious society organized west of Canton in Stark County was the "The Kendal Preparative Meeting of the Society of Friends" their Monthly Meeting being at Marl-Borough, Quarterly Meeting at Salem, and the Yearly Meeting being held at Mount Pleasant, Jefferson County. It is supposed that all these organizations existed as early as 1813. The principal members of Kendal Preparative Meeting were Isaac Bowman, Richard Williams, Zaccheus Stanton, Charles Coffin, Thomas Rotch, Mayhew Folger, Joseph Hobson, Jonathan Michener, Matthew Macy, Thomas Coffin, Micajah Macy, and others, all of whom with a single exception, were heads of families. About the year 1825 Kendal was visited by two men, Paul Brown and Josiah Warren, who were both disciples of Robert Owen the founder of a socialistic Com-

munity at New Lanack, Scotland. Under the influence of these two men a number of the people of Kendal decided to form an organization founded upon the principles set forth by Robert Owen. The name they adopted for themselves was "The Kendal Cummunity" but the public generally called them the "Owenites". They purchased 2113 acres from the estate of Thomas Rotch in the vicinity of Kendal and Massillon together with some lots in Kendal for $20,000. The following is a transcription of an old journal obtained from Amasa Baily a son of a member of the Kendal Community by Mr. Wendall P. Fox, himself a grandson of Jehiel Fox one of the Founders.

The journal has been placed in the McClymonds Public Library of Massillon and is in a fair state of preservation.

There is much material bearing upon the purposes and activities of this Association which may be of special interest in this community which the writer hopes to be able to secure and collaborate in the near future but which is not accessible at the present time, and which I hope to make the subject of a future article embellished by portraits of some of the most prominent members of the community of which none are now living. The most recent deaths of members have occurred within the last three years, viz: Mrs. Eliza Kingsbury of Akron, O., and Judge J. S. Underhill of Canton, Ohio. The membership of this community was made up of people of all religious beliefs and many nationalities and was as broad as their constitution can be construed which fact in view of the writer's belief contributed to the non-success as a community.

Almost without exception the original members of this community developed the highest order of successful citizenship in their after life and were prominent in public affairs and character building.

They organized a lyceum, had frequent debates and also had a good library of several hundred volumes, many of which are now in our High School library. However unsuccessful their efforts may appear to the casual observer their influences are apparent in many of the affairs of this vicinity and will be for many years to come.

CONSTITUTION OF THE FRIENDLY ASSOCIATION FOR MUTUAL INTERESTS AT KENDAL, OHIO.

Preamble.

The first principle and that which should never be absent from the mind is Love to the Great first cause and Creator of all things. The second is a sincere regard and love to our fellow creatures. This love should extend to every created and sensible subject. Upon these fundamental duties depends the happiness of every rational being; and without living in the constant observance of these duties it is impossible that man can be happy. In the present system of human concerns we are impelled to guard ourselves, individually against the interest of others, hence it is that strife and contention are unavoidable. The man who does not prefer his own interest, falls necessarily into poverty. In the round of trade and commerce all are exposed to the danger of either gaining too great an advantage or of falling short of securing their own. In this state of the world it is impossible to establish the love and good will which are necessary to the comfort and happiness of the human race. Hence, we have evidence that some other and different course is imperiously called for and must be adopted, before a correct state of affairs can be established.

From these facts we are led to see that man with all his professions to the contrary is the enemy of man and that we have to be as much upon our guard against one another as against the most ferocious animal: and there is no reason to hope for a better state of things under the system of individual and private interests. If the state of the human family should be changed for the better it is evident that we must abandon the present course and embrace a system of greater liberality and justice. We must admit of those rights which are natural and which have been taken from us by human policy. These inherent rights might be particularized, but enough has been noticed to prove that under present circumstances, great difficulties and embarrassments are unavoidable, and that therefore it is reasonable and justifiable to change the whole system as soon as it can be done prudently, and with safety to the com-

munity at large. The principles and objects of the Company are presented to the public in the following Constitution which it is presumed cannot fail to interest all who divesting themselves of the prejudices of the former systems are open to conviction on rational principles.

To parents in an especial manner the advantages of the proposed system present themselves with peculiar force. The baneful influence of immortal examples will be most effectually guarded against — the principles and practice of piety, justice and benevolence inculcated and exemplified — industrious and economical habits formed — and those affections and desires toward the happiness of all around them promoted and permanently secured to the rising generation.

When the parents are removed by death the children will not have to conflict as orphans too generally do with the adversities of an unfeeling world, but will be under the guardianship of the Company, who adopt them and amply provide for their comfort in the place of their natural parents. The aged and infirm will have a rightful claim to every requisite care and kindness. Although little inducement is offered by the Company to that vain and heedless portion of youth who place happiness on distinctions of an artificial nature, yet those of a more rational character will have an ample field for the development of the faculties both physical and intellectual and insure all the real conveniences and comforts of life.

Such are the outlines of our principles, calculated we believe, to increase happiness, arrest the progress of vice, and lead to all those virtues and graces which the Gospel enjoins and we humbly commend our efforts to the blessing of its Adorable Author. We, the undersigned, do therefore, relying on the smiles of Divine Providence and renouncing all amusement and practices known to preponderate in evil, agree each with the other in an Association for Mutual Co-operation and comfort to be governed by such rules and regulations as we shall hereafter adopt.

KENDAL, OHIO, March 17, 1826.

CONSTITUTION.

(Drafted May 15, 1826.)

ARTICLE 1st. The title of the company shall be "The Friendly Association for Mutual Interests".

ARTICLE 2nd. The location of the company having been chosen by the general concurrence of the adult members of the community, they shall hold stated meetings consisting of men and women, by whom all rules and regulations shall be made and before whom all the business of the company shall be laid. They shall appoint a Clerk and Assistant Clerk, a Treasurer, and such delegates, commissioners, and committees as may be necessary to transact business of the company, who shall make report to the meeting for business, or when required.

ARTICLE 3d. The company shall be governed by certain queries which shall comprehend the duties of every member.

ARTICLE 4th. All applications for membership must be delivered in writing to the Clerk of the meeting, and previous to the admittance of any, the principles and plan of operation of the company and the terms of admission shall be made known to the applicant.

ARTICLE 5th. All members must be moral, sober and industrious.

ARTICLE 6th. Every member shall be alike entitled to all the privileges of the company, and the comforts afforded thereby; and with the peculiar religious opinions of the members we will not interfere.

ARTICLE 7th. On the admission of each member an inventory and estimate of the property (household furniture excepted) he or she may put into the common stock shall be entered in the company's books to his credit; provided such property shall be deemed useful to the company.

ARTICLE 8th. It is expected that all the members will cheerfully render their best services for the welfare of the company according to their age, experience and capacity, and if inexperienced in that which is requisite, they will apply diligently to acquire the knowledge of some useful occupation or employment.

ARTICLE 9th. If at any time there should not be a sufficient number of persons in the company fully competent to the management of the different branches of industry, the company shall engage the assistance of skilful, practical men from general society.

ARTICLE 10th. In sickness or when accidents occur every care shall be taken of the parties; medical aid afforded and all the attention shown them that kindness can suggest, and their usual portion of profits credited to them as when able to perform their usual duties.

ARTICLE 11th. The company will not be answerable for the debts of individual members contracted either previous or during membership.

ARTICLE 12th. In order to afford an opportunity to such members as may be encumbered with debts contracted in general society, to render justice to their creditors, a duty indispensable, they are at liberty to devote for this purpose as much labour over and above their usual portion of duty as they may deem proper, for which they shall be duly credited; and it is earnestly recommended that members thus circumstanced faithfully appropriate their profits to this equitable purpose.

ARTICLE 13th. Any member is at liberty to leave the company at pleasure. In this case, or if disowned, he or she shall receive a due share of the value of the property and all that shall be credited on the books of the company at the time of withdrawing or disownment on such terms as the By-Laws may direct or may best suit the abilities of the company.

ARTICLE 14th. Any adult member being a legal testator may devise by will, to or out of the company, such balance as may appear to the credit of his or her account at the time of decease.

ARTICLE 15th. Children of any deceased members shall be equally protected, educated and cherished with those living members.

ARTICLE 16th. The company will provide, as soon as their funds will admit, suitable buildings and able teachers to instruct in the best physical and mental education all the children be-

longing to the community; the mode of education combining always practice with theory to be hereafter determined by the company.

ARTICLE 17th. At the close of each year, all the profits of the company shall be equally entered to the credit of the adult members, both male and female, reserving always a discretionary sum for assisting in the establishment of future communities.

ARTICLE 18th. Twelve trustees shall be appointed, in whom shall be vested all titles to real estate in trust for the company, to be renewed whenever they shall deem it necessary.

ARTICLE 19th. To carry into execution the plans of the company, they shall appoint five commissioners, who shall borrow such sum or sums of money as the company may deem necessary for which the said commissioners, or any two of them, shall in conjunction with the Treasurer issue certificates payable to the lenders or their assigns for which payment with interest at such rate and times as may be stipulated the faith of the company shall be pledged.

ARTICLE 20th. This Constitution may hereafter be altered or amended by the concurrence of three-fourths of the male members of said society, except such articles as related to contracts which shall be inviolate.

Jonathan Winter,	David Culver,	Aaron Culver,
Luther Hanchett,	Wm. T. Harding,	Martin Langdon,
Wm. H. Hanchett,	Thomas Eldredge,	Jehiel Fox,
Horace Burroughs,	A. K. Burroughs,	Samuel Favis,
Amasa Bailey,	John Blackman,	Elijah Bigelow,
Philip Wagoner,	John Sayler,	Calvin Reed,
Frederick Oberlin,	William Skinner,	David Solomon,
John Borland,	Joseph Tinkler,	Daniel C. Pratt,
John Harmon,	Menonnis Williams,	Saml. Underhill,
Zeno Culver,	Norridon Bixley,	Henry C. Fosdick,
Edward Dunn,	Edward E. Hussey,	James Bayliss,
Jethro Macy,	Nathaniel Underhill,	Larry McCall,
John Oberlin,	David Kennady,	Jonathan Moores.

REPORTS OF MEETINGS.

MAY 15, 1826.

The Society for Mutual Interests convened at Kendal and Ebenezer Williams was appointed Chairman, and John Borland, Clerk.

A motion that there shall be a committee appointed of three persons to take proper measures to forward our business on tomorrow. The following names were appointed; viz: Horace Burroughs, Jehiel Fox and Asa K. Burroughs. The meeting then adjourned till 9:00 o'clock tomorrow.

MAY 16, 1826.

Met at the time appointed.

A motion was made that in case the aforesaid premises were purchased that Jehiel Fox and Matthew Macy, being two of the Commissioners elected at this meeting, shall be appointed to take charge of the property of the Society till other regulations are made by said Society and carried in the affirmative. A vote was then taken that it be left discretionary with any two of the Commissioners whenever the case may acquire to call a General Meeting of the members of this Society and carried in the affirmative.

The following votes were given for the following names for Commissioners to act for said Society; viz:

Asa K. Burroughs	had	12 votes.
Jehiel Fox	"	12 "
John Harmon	"	12 "
Matthew Macy	"	11 "
Ebenezer Williams	"	12 "
Jonathan Winter	"	1 "

And also at the above mentioned meeting the following votes were given for the following officers; viz:

Treasurer.

Horace Burroughs had ..... 12 votes.

Trustees.

Jehiel Fox	had	10 votes.
Frederick Oberlin	"	10 "
Asa K. Burroughs	"	9 "
Horace Burroughs	"	10 "
John Harmon	"	9 "
Philip Wagner	"	9 "
John Borland	"	9 "
Amasa Bailey	"	10 "
Luther Hanchett	"	9 "
Matthew Macy	"	8 "
Joseph Tinkler	"	5 "
Ebenezer Williams	"	9 "
Jonathan Winter	"	4 "
James Freeman	"	1 "
John McKinnon	"	1 "

Clerk.

Matthew Macy	had	12 votes.

We the undersigned do certify the above poll to be correct agreeable to the tickets given at this election. The meeting then adjourned to a day without date.

At a meeting of the Society of Mutual Interest of Kendal held in said town on the 4th of July, 1826, the following resolutions were adopted; viz:

That William T. Harding, Norridon Bixley, Sam'l I. Moulton, Robt. Lawson, and Peter Meyers shall be received as members of this Association. It was then resolved that a Committee of three persons be elected to superintend the general concerns and interests of the Society to hold their office until the next General Meeting. Therefore, Jehiel Fox, Philip Wagoner and Matthew Macy were appointed as said Committee.

Resolved, also, that a Committee of two members be appointed of the members in Portage County (Bull) to correspond with said Committee in Kendal. Therefore, Asa K. Burroughs and Luther Hanchett were appointed as said Committee. Also that the Committee at Kendal shall meet on Saturday, the 15th inst. and once in two weeks thereafter at which time such members as may wish to meet and advise with them can do so, and a

majority of such members can at any time notify a General Meeting.

The meeting then adjourned.

M. MACY, *Clerk.*

Signed. — JOHN HARMON.

AUGUST 7th, 1826.

Three of the acting trustees of the Society for Mutual Interests of Kendal have agreed that a General Meeting of the members shall be convened at Kendal on the 18th inst. at one o'clock, P. M.

M. MACY, *Clerk.*

Signed. JEHIEL FOX,
P. WAGONER,
M. MACY,
Trustees.

At a meeting of the members of the Friendly Association of Kendal held in said town on the 18th of August, 1826, John Harmon was chosen Chairman, and M. Macy, Clerk.

Thomas Eldridge, Mennonis Williams, David Williams, and David Culver were received as members of the Society, and John Gallangher was received on probation.

Resolved, That Luther Hanchett, Jehiel Fox and Amasa Bailey be a committee to draft some by-laws for the future regulation of the Society and report at this meeting.

Resolved, also, that the saw mill be repaired or rebuilt as may best comport with the interests of the community; that the Commissioners use their efforts to provide for the reception of families who wish to move on to the premises to labour for the community, as soon as possible. Jehiel Fox was appointed to superintend the rebuilding of the saw-mill.

Resolved, also, that the present Commissioners or a majority of them be impowered to transact the business aforesaid and such other concerns of the Society as shall appear to be most beneficial for the interests of the same.

Adjourned till tomorrow at 8 o'clock, A. M.

August 19th, 1826.

Met by adjournment and adopted the following by-laws for the regulation of the Society:

1st. All meetings of the Society shall be conducted with order and decency. But one member shall speak on any question at a time and he shall rise and ask leave of the Chairman.

2nd. A meeting for the transaction of business shall be held weekly by the Commissioners together with such members as may wish to attend, every Saturday afternoon at 3 o'clock in the brick house, and a General Meeting may be called by the Commissioners, or any two of them or by a majority of the members present at a weekly meeting.

3rd. Every General Meeting of the Society for the transaction of business, when convened, shall choose a Chairman and Clerk and proceed to business.

4th. All motions shall be made in order and presented in writing for the consideration of the meeting.

5th. Each adult member shall share in the first annual dividend calculating from the time he or she commences actual labour for the Society.

6th. A candidate for membership must secure the votes of three-fourths of the members present at a regular meeting, sign the by-laws, Constitution and Bond of Compact to become a member.

7th. The Society may receive members on probation for six months, who shall be entitled to all the privileges of real members except that of voting and said probation may be extended for the benefit of such member at the discretion of the Society, provided however that a unanimous vote of the meeting shall always be conclusive on all questions.

8th. The Commissioners being authorized to transact the general concerns of the Society, it will be their duty to see that every family and each individual is provided with all the necessaries and comforts of life, likewise furnish everything necessary for the labourers to pursue their several branches of industry for the general benefit of the whole.

9th. All minors belonging to the community are to be under the special care of the same; they are to be educated

and instructed in the several branches of useful knowledge. The males are to be taught agriculture and some one mechanical art; the females are to be taught in a manner suitable to their sex, and that guardian care and protection extended to them that their situation may require, and all the expenses arising therefore shall be paid out of the funds of the community.

10th. If any member shall be guilty of improper conduct or shall offend or injure another member of the Society, the party aggrieved or any other member may enter a complaint to the Commissioners or a committee appointed for that purpose and it shall be the duty of one of them on receiving such complaint to notify the parties in writing that they appear in a given time before said Commissioners or Committee, whose duty it shall be to hear such complaint and use their best endeavours to settle such difference, and if the offender shall fail to make proper satisfaction to the party aggrieved, then their case shall be heard at the next General Meeting of the members or a sufficient number thereof to form a quorum to transact business, at which time and place if the offender shall fail to make proper satisfaction he or she shall be expelled from the Society by a vote of the majority of said meeting, and for all the personal property, cash or services done, said offender may have been accredited on the books of said Society, he or she shall receive a compensation in the products of the labour of the Society for the aforesaid property; and for the said cash, or the share of the real-estate, to which he or she may be justly entitled such offender shall receive the cash to be made in annual payments at the rate of twenty dollars per annum to every adult member belonging to the Society till such demand shall be paid.

11th. Any member wishing to absent himself from the Society at any time for the transaction of his own private business, shall notify the acting Commissioner or superintendent of his intention at least twenty-four hours previous to the same, except in the case of particular emergency and where a reasonable excuse can be alleged for the same.

The meeting then adjourned.

We the undersigned members of the aforesaid Association do severally agree to be governed and abide by the foregoing regulations or By-Laws:

Horace Burroughs,
John H. Blackman,
William Skinner,
John Harmon,
Amasa Bailey,
Norridon Bixley,
Aaron Culver,
Jehiel Fox,
Samuel Davis,
Calvin Reed,
David Solomon,
Martin Langdon,
Daniel C. Pratt,
Nathaniel Underhill,
Henry C. Fosdick,
Larry McCall,
John Oberlin,
David Kennaday,
Luther Hanchett,
Joseph Tinkler,
John Sayler,
A. K. Burroughs,
Philip Wagoner,
Frederick Oberlin,
Zeno Culver,
Adam Oberlin,
Jonathan Winter,
Elijah Biglow,
Matthew Borland,
Wm. F. Harding,
Wm. H. Hanchett,
Thomas Eldridge,
John Borland,
Samuel Underhill,
Jethro Macy,
William Macy,
Edwin Dunn.

BOND OF SOCIAL COMPACT.

We the undersigned members of the Friendly Association for mutual interests at Kendal agree to bind ourselves by the following conditions of union and co-operation; viz., That we agree to purchase the property belonging to the heirs of Thomas Rotch, deceased, agreeably to the proposals of Arvine Wales, their attorney.

We further bind ourselves to each other to make good and sufficient security to apply on the first payment to the Committee of the Association or to Arvine Wales to the full amount set to our names respectively.

We agree to share equally in the loss or gain (if there should be any) in the sales of the property individually pledged or collectively given as security. We further agree that we will not sell, lease, rent or dispose of our individual shares of the real estate to any person or persons other than this Association.

We further bind ourselves and our successors that for all the property belonging to individuals made use of for the benefits of its members collectively should be placed to the credit of

such individuals on the books of the Association and that all such accounts shall draw interest to be paid (principal and interest) as soon as the circumstances of the Society will admit. All that subscribe to this agreement that do not set any specified sum to their respective names to be pledged as security, and who have not real estate to dispose of for that purpose hereby bind themselves individually to make every reasonable exertion to assist in making the first and succeeding payments for the said property and to make over to the Association or their committee all the personal property that they can consistently with their individual interest to be made use of as common stock. It is further agreed that the same Society shall not be obliged to pay a demand that any members may have, till it has been regularly demanded one year.

In witness whereof, we set our hands and seals at Kendal this 16th day of May in the year Eighteen Hundred and Twenty-six:

Horace Burroughs,	Calvin Reed,	David Culver,
Philip Wagoner,	Daniel C. Pratt,	John Sayler,
Adam Oberlin,	John Harmon,	Frederick Oberlin,
Wm. H. Hanchett,	A. K. Burroughs,	Jonathan Mooers,
William Skinner,	Martin Langdon,	Thomas Eldridge,
Matthew Borland,	Jonathan Winter,	John H. Blackman,
Zeno Culver,	John Borland	David Solomon,
Jehiel Fox,	Luther Hanchett,	Amasa Bailey,
Samuel Davis,	Wm. F. Harding,	Aaron Culver.
Elijah Biglow,	Joseph Tinkler,	

At a meeting of the Friendly Association for Mutual Interests held at Kendal on the 20th of October, 1826, Asa K. Burroughs was elected Chairman and Joseph Tinkler, Clerk. The meeting adjourned till 7 o'clock.

The meeting convened at the hour appointed and voted that the Commissioners be legally authorized to transact business for the Society by a written power of attorney. Voted that Luther Hanchett draft a power of attorney according to the preceding vote. Voted that John Harmon assist the said Luther Hanchett in drafting the said power of attorney. Voted, that

a committee of three be appointed to examine and report whether any, and if any, what alteration ought to be made in the Constitution and By-Laws of this Society and report to-morrow morning. Also that John Harmon, Horace Burroughs and Philip Wagoner be the said Committee. It was then voted that the meeting adjourn till 7 o'clock tomorrow morning.

SATURDAY MORNING, Oct. 21st.

Met agreeable to adjournment and appointed Horace Burroughs, Clerk. Voted, that the Committee appointed to revise the Constitution or By-Laws have further time to consider and make report.

Then proceeded to elect by ballot five Commissioners; viz., Asa K. Burroughs, William Skinner, Luther Hanchett, Thomas Eldridge, and Philip Wagoner were elected Commissioners by a plurality of votes. Voted that we adjourn for one hour.

Met pursuant to adjournment. Voted that a Committee be appointed to draft a Memorial to the Legislature praying for an act of incorporation of this Society. Voted that John Harmon, Matthew Macy and Horace Burroughs compose that committee. Erastus Smith and James Pease presented their petition for membership.

Meeting adjourned without day.

The Kendal Community met at the house of Jonathan Winter in Kendal on the first of Jan'y, 1827. John Borland was chosen Chairman and M. Macy, Clerk. The meeting then proceeded to business.

It was resolved that a committee of three persons be appointed to draft and report such regulations for the government of the Society, the plan of operations, and the extent of the provision to be made for the same. Voted that Jehiel Fox, A. K. Burroughs and Wm. Skinner compose that committee.

2nd. That a committee of three persons be appointed to examine into the proceedings of the different departments and branches of business that have been carried on and report the same to the meeting tomorrow at one o'clock, P. M.

Adjourned till tomorrow at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Met by adjournment.

The committee appointed to report a system of regulations, etc., for the Society make the following report which was read and accepted:

We, your Committee of Ways and Means, being appointed by the community in open meeting would respectfully report that in our opinion it becomes necessary that the members of the community from this time till the 1st of April next be prepared for actual business at sunrise in the morning. We further think it necessary to appoint some one from the body of the Commissioners to be the principal active agent to do and transact all business for the community and that the other four Commissioners shall be his counsel, to be called together whenever he shall think it necessary for the good management of the Community. We further recommend that the appointments of officers made at this meeting be published in the public prints in this County. We further recommend that if any member of the community is in possession of any produce or other article immediately wanted, shall make presentment of such article for the benefit of the acting Commissioners at this meeting.

That there be a re-election of Commissioners, one of whom shall be designated as Acting Commissioner, and that they proceed to elect by ballot immediately.

On balloting Jehiel Fox had eleven votes for Acting Commissioner; and Luther Hanchett and Philip Wagoner had eleven, William Harding had ten votes and Norridon Bixley had eleven votes for Commissioners, and were elected.

John Sprague, John F. Wells, David Williams, Samuel Davis, and Joseph Sheply were admitted as members, and the application of Jonathan Moors for membership was deferred to a future meeting.

The report of the committee appointed to examine into the different branches of business made a report which was accepted and the accompanying papers ordered to be delivered to the Acting Commissioner.

The meeting then adjourned to a time without date.

Signed. JOHN BORLAND, *Chairman.*

M. MACY, *Clerk.*

At the above meeting Thomas Eldridge asked leave to withdraw from the membership of the Kendal Company of Mutual Interests which was granted by a vote of the meeting while organized.

The Kendal Community met at J. Winter's on the 10th of Feb'y, 1827, and chose N. Bixley, Chairman, and M. Macy, Clerk. It having appeared that there was some dissatisfaction with James Freeman, the following resolutions were taken:

1st. That the Commissioners shall confer with Mr. Freeman, and if he chooses to withdraw from the community, to settle with him on terms of equity to him and to the community or have such difference settled if possible to the satisfaction of both parties and make a report to the Society on Saturday next.

2nd. That all minors and others now living in the community who are not members of the same or are employed by the community shall be governed by the regulations thereof or withdraw forthwith.

3rd. That appraisers shall be appointed to affix a value to the house and premises of Jonathan Winter in Kendal.

4th. That appraisers shall be appointed to affix a value to all the household furniture in the community, make a schedule of the same and have it recorded in the books of the community. Luther Hanchett and Jehiel Fox were appointed for that purpose.

The application of Jonathan Moors deferred at last meeting was considered and he was accepted as a member.

David Solomon, Charles Bevington and Wm. Johnson, applied for admittance as members. The former was accepted and the two latter had leave to withdraw their petition.

The meeting then adjourned till Saturday the 24th inst.

SATURDAY, Feb'y 24th, 1827.

The community met by adjournment at J. Winter's. Luther Hanchett in the chair and M. Macy, Clerk.

Reuben Tapper applied for membership and was received as a member by a clear vote of the meeting. The application of Martin Langdon was acted upon and deferred till a future meeting.

Resolved. That the Acting Commissioner shall make such contract with Joshua Brooks to teach the school for the present as may seem to comport with the best interests of the Society.

Res. 2. That all accounts in the community shall be kept in the name of Jehiel Fox & Co. from this time forward.

Res. 3. That the Acting Commissioner shall have some place of deposit for such articles as may be received by the community and appoint some person to take charge of the same and produce receipts to show the disposition of said articles.

Adjournment, till Monday at 6 o'clock, P. M.

MARCH 30th, 1827.

The members met at their usual place of holding meetings in Kendal at which the following votes were taken: viz., For the admission of Martin Langdon, James Reed, Larra McCall as members of the community.

The meeting adjourned till tomorrow at 8 o'clock

JOHN HARMON, *Clerk.*

Signed. JEHIEL FOX, *Chairman.*

MARCH 31st, 1827.

Met pursuant to adjournment.

On motion voted that Jehiel Fox be authorized to negotiate a purchase of the double carding machine, a billy and a picker, now used in the factory by D. Middleton, at $528.65 if he think proper.

On motion voted unanimously that J. Fox be requested to make a settlement with James Freeman on condition that said Freeman leave the community and that J. Fox report his proceedings to an adjourned meeting this evening.

EVENING MEETING, March 31.

Jehiel Fox reported that he had endeavored to settle with said Freeman, but without effect. On motion, voted unanimously in the Kendal Community that James Freeman be disowned and dismissed from the rights and privileges of further membership in the said Community.

On motion, voted that Philip Wagoner be appointed to superintend the agricultural department of this Society under the Acting Commissioner.

On motion, voted that the community meet at 6 o'clock on every Saturday evening and the superintendent of each department be requested to report the progress of the business under his charge for the preceding week.

Appointments by the Acting Commissioner, viz: Wm. F. Harding, Superintendent of the Wagon-Makers Shop; John Sprague, Superintendent of the Black-Smith Shop; and Jonathan Winter, Superintendent of the Woolen Factory.

Meeting adjourned.

Signed. JOHN HARMON, *Clerk.*

A meeting of the Kendal Community was held on the 19th of April, 1827. John Saylor in the Chair and M. Macy was Clerk. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted, Viz:

Res. 1. That each male member who is the head of a family shall be allowed Ten Dollars per month to be paid out of the joint funds of the Community and for all extra labour that they may perform they shall be paid in the same manner and proportion.

Res. 2. That each family shall manage their own internal concerns for themselves.

Res. 3. That each adult male member shall labour ten hours in each day when in health; should he perform any extra labour, it shall be entered to his credit on the books of the Company at the rate above mentioned at the end of each year. Provided always that farmers and others who labour out shall not lose their time in consequence of unfavorable weather for prosecuting their business, but shall be provided with such business within doors as they are capable of performing.

Res. 4. That each male member who has no family shall receive Eight Dollars per month in the manner aforesaid deducting in all cases boarding, clothing, washing and lodging.

Res. 5. That all minors between the age of eight and twelve years old shall receive in the manner aforesaid Two Dollars per

month for each month's labour, and all between the age of twelve and eighteen years shall be entitled to Five Dollars per month for each month's actual labour.

Res. 6. That each female member be entitled to the following rates as a compensation for their labour:

For each eight hours of washing, twenty-five cents.

For each run of linen yarn, ten cents.

For each run of tow yarn and carding, ten cents.

For each run of woolen yarn, eight cents.

For making common shirts or a pair of trowsers, twenty cents.

For knitting socks, fifteen cents.

For knitting stockings, twenty cents.

For binding each pair of shoes, four cents.

For each week's actual labour at house-work, seventy-five cents.

Res. 7. That all articles paid to individual members by the Company shall be charged at their actual cost to the Company.

Res. 8. That each family be provided with a house and firewood by the Company. Also one quarter or half an acre of ground which they may till for their own benefit and at their own expense.

The meeting then adjourned till Saturday the 28th instant at 6 o'clock, P. M.

The Kendal Community met on the 25th of April, 1827, and passed the following resolutions: Viz.

Res. 1. That every member be prepared to go to labour at seven o'clock A. M. and at one o'clock P. M. Also that the resolution passed on the 19th of April last, so far as relates to the hours of labour, be the same as hereby repealed.

Res. 2. That Calvin Reed be a member of the Kendal Community and entitled to all the privileges thereof by signing the By-Laws, Constitution and Bond of Compact of said Company.

Res. 3. That the petition of Elijah Biglow be deferred till next meeting.

Res. 4. That a committee be appointed to examine into the number of cooperative members belonging to the Company. That Jehiel Fox and N. Bixley be that committee.

Adjourned till May 5th.

May 5th. Met by adjournment. Motioned and carried that the following persons who have been received as members of the Community be dismissed from the same: Viz., Emmanuel Olmstead, Samuel B. Miller, John Billings, Samuel Hogeland, David Williams, David Williams Jr., John F. Wells, John Hall, Samuel J. Moulton, Robert Lawson, Peter Myers, Joseph Shepley, and Jonathan Foster. The petition of David B. Burwick was received and ordered to be acted on at next meeting.

Resolved, That each member of the Community who has pledged real-estate to Arvine Wales as security for the first payment for the premises, shall make his election previous to the first day of June next, whether he will, or will not hold himself accountable for the amount secured to the said Wales by himself.

Resolved also, That this Community will receive real-estate that is already pledged as security for the payment of these premises at the appraisal of three disinterested men, and it shall be optional with those members who have made such security to transfer the same to said Community in the aforesaid manner, provided they make their choice or election previous to the first day of June aforesaid.

Elijan Bugelow was admitted as a member of the Kendal Community.

April 14th, 1827. At a meeting of the Kendal Community at their usual place of holding the same, a motion was made that Manorris Williams be dismissed from being a member of said Community which was carried by a unanimous vote.

Jehiel Fox, *Chairman & Clerk, P. T.*

A meeting of the Kendal Community was held on the 19th of May, and resolution adopted; Viz.

Res. 1. Resolved, That this Community shall proceed to establish a school which shall approximate as near to the system of education as recommended by Robert Owen, as the circumstances of this Community will admit.

Res. 2. Resolved, That Jehiel Fox, A. Bailey, M. Macy, be a committee to make arrangements to carry said school into effect and report the same at a future meeting.

The petition of Almira Reed for membership in the Kendal Community was read and referred to our next meeting.

No further business presenting, the meeting adjourned till Saturday next at four o'clock.

MAY 26—Members of the Kendal Community met and no business of note appearing, the meeting adjourned to June 2nd, at four o'clock.

JUNE 2, 1827. The members of the Kendal Community met agreeable to adjournment at their usual place of holding meetings at which a motion was made that that clause of the Constitution that stipulates that the females shall share equal shares with the males in the loss or gain of property belonging to the common stock altered which, was decided in the affirmative by a unanimous vote.

David D. Burwick was admitted as a member of the Kendal Community for Mutual Interests by a unanimous vote.

Voted that William H. Hanchett work in the factory.

Voted unanimously that our meetings be held on each Saturday at five o'clock, P. M.

The following persons did elect that they would convey to the Company such land as they had mortgaged for the first payment of the premises purchased of A. Wales for the Kendal Company for mutual interest, agreeable to a resolution passed May 5th, 1827; Viz., Philip Wagoner,

Jonathan Winter,
Frederick Oberlin,
Jehiel Fox.

Meeting adjourned, till Saturday at five o'clock.

JEHIEL FOX, *Clerk, P. T.*

JUNE 16th. Members of the Kendal Community met agreeable to adjournment at which the following resolutions were adopted; Viz.,

Res. 1. For the Acting Commissioner to rent the house that is now occupied by John Everhard in Kendal village if he think expedient.

Res. 2. That Jehiel Fox, Norridon Bixley and John Blackman, be and are hereby authorized and appointed by said Com-

munity to act as a school committee or directors of the Company's school in said town of Kendal, Stark County, Ohio, for the term of one year from this date, June 16th, 1827.

Res. 3. That Jehiel Fox be and is hereby appointed to a district meeting consisting of each householder of the Kendal School District to meet at some suitable place in said District to appoint some suitable men to act as school directors of said District, to fix on a site suitable for a school house and build the same, also to receive the funds donated by Charity Rotch, deceased, now in the hands of her executors for the purpose of erecting a school house in said village of Kendal.

JUNE 25th. At a meeting of the members of the Kendal Community held at their usual place of holding the same, a motion was made and seconded that the Seventeenth Section of the Constitution of said Community be so altered as to give in the yearly dividend to the female adults of the Community a proportionable sum with the males. The sense of the meeting was taken on the above motion and decided in the affirmative by a unanimous vote.

Almira Reed's petition was granted by a unanimous vote of the meeting for her admission as a member of said Community.

Meeting adjourned.

AMASA BAILEY, *Chairman & Clerk.*

At a meeting of the Kendal Community held at the usual place on Saturday the 21st day of July, 1827, the following proceedings were had.

1st. *Resolved.* That Amasa Bailey take three horses that the Company shall deliver to him and a saddle and bridle for each and dispose of them to the best advantage that he can for the benefit of the Company.

2nd. *Resolved.* That the premises belonging to Jehiel Fox, which were mortgaged to Arvine Wales for security of premises purchased of said Wales for the Kendal Community for mutual interest, be received of said Fox and placed to his credit on the Company's book at Eight Hundred Dollars, with the crops now on the place, and to have full possession on the first day of April

next, unless sooner sold by said Company, in which case said Fox is to clear the premises of all cumbrances.

3d. *Resolved.* That the premises belonging to Frederick Oberlin be received by the Kendal Community and passed to his credit on the Company's books at Fourteen Hundred and Fifty Dollars.

4th. *Resolved.* That the premises belonging to Jonathan Winter be received and passed to his credit at Four Hundred Dollars.

Adjourned.

JEHIEL FOX, *Ch. & Clerk.*

JULY 21st, 1827.

5th. *Resolved.* That the amount of money and trade be and remain as it now stands recorded to the credit of Philip Wagoner on the Company's book agreeable to the By-Laws in that case made and provided.

JEHIEL FOX, *Ch. & Clerk.*

JULY 28th, 1827.

At a general meeting of the members of the Kendal Community for mutual interest the following persons were elected Commissioners for said Company; Viz., Jehiel Fox, Acting Commissioner, had 13 votes; A. K. Burroughs had 12 votes; Horace Burroughs had 8 votes; Norridon Bixley had 8 votes; Luther Hanchett had 14 votes, and were elected Commissioners of said Company.

The following persons were elected by a majority of votes given by the members of said Company to fill the following stations; Viz., A. K. Burroughs, Head Farmer; David Culver, Assistant Farmer; Horace Burroughs, Principal Builder; L. McCall, Assistant Builder.

A. BAILEY, *Chairman.*

A. K. BURROUGHS, *Clerk.*

At a meeting of the Kendal Friendly Association held at the usual place of holding the same, on Saturday the 4th of August, 1827.

The petition of Allen Wickinson and Daniel C. Pratt was presented for admission to membership and ordered to be placed

on the minutes of the meeting to be acted on at our next communication.

The meeting adjourned to Saturday next at 6 o'clock, P. M.

JEHIEL FOX, *Ch. & Clerk.*

AUGUST 11th, 1827.

A meeting of the members of the Kendal Community for mutual interest held at the brick house agreeable to adjournment, at which the following resolutions were passed:

Res. 1. That a Clerk and Chairman be appointed for an unlimited time, subject to be displaced, at the will of the meeting, passed.

Res. 2. A. K. Burroughs be Chairman and Jehiel Fox, Clerk.

Res. 3. That the Acting Commissioner have a clothier to work in the factory, passed.

Res. 4. That the Acting Commissioner by and with the consent of his Board of Commissioners to employ a millwright and fix on some plan of a mill.

Res. 5. Daniel C. Pratt admitted as a member of the Kendal Community for mutual interest by a unanimous vote.

Res. 6. Allen Wickinson be a member of the Kendal Community passed by a unanimous vote.

Res. 7. The meeting adjourned to Saturday next to the brick house at 6 o'clock P. M.

A. K. BURROUGHS, *Chairman.*
JEHIEL FOX, *Clerk.*

KENDAL, Aug. 19, 1827.

The members of the Community met at the brick house and adopted the following resolutions:

Res. 1. *Resolved,* That the cows belonging to the community be drove to pasture by the sun, ½ an hr. high in morning.

2nd. *Resolved,* That the Acting Commissioner subscribe for the following list of newspapers to be taken as Community property; Viz., New Harmony Gazette, New York Statesman, Gospel Advocate, Columbus Gazette, Canton Repository and Niles Baltimore Weekly Register.

3d. *Resolved,* A general meeting of all the members of

the Community with their families be holden at the school house at one o'clock on each first day of the week for the purpose of mutual instruction, information and improvement in the principles of the system of cooperation intended to be pursued by the Community.

4th. *Resolved,* That a committee of three persons be appointed to select such subjects as shall be deemed most useful for the exercises at said meeting, and that Daniel C. Pratt, Calvin Reed, and John Blackman compose said committee.

5th. The petitions of David Kennedy and Samuel Creighton for admission to membership were presented and entered on the minutes for consideration until the next meeting.

6th. Meeting adjourned.

A. K. Burroughs, *Chairman.*
Jehiel Fox, *Clerk.*

Oct. 13th, 1827.

The members of the Community met at the residence of A. K. Burroughs and transacted the following business:

The petition of Jesse Clemmons was presented to the meeting and ordered to be entered for the consideration of the members, to be acted on at a future meeting.

John Oberlin was admitted a member of the Kendal Community for mutual interests by a unanimous vote.

The meeting adjourned to Saturday next at 6 P. M.

A. K. Burroughs, *Chairman.*
Jehiel Fox, *Clerk.*

November 4, 1827.

A meeting of the members of the Kendal Community was held. A. K. Burroughs was elected to take charge of all of the laboring departments of the Society and each member present required to obey implicitly his orders.

Meeting adjourned.

J. Fox, *Clerk & Chairman.*

At a meeting of the members of the Kendal Community held at their usual place of holding the same on the 15th of December, 1827, the following business was transacted:

1st. Mr. Tuttle of Buffalo, N. Y., was admitted as a mem-

ber of the Kendal Community for mutual interests by a unanimous vote.

2nd. The petitions of Samuel Underhill, Nathaniel Underhill, Jethro Macy, Wm. G. Macy, Henry Fosdick, James Baslyer, Edward Dunn, Edward Hussey was presented to the meeting and granted by a unanimous vote of the members.

3d. A motion was made and carried in the affirmative that a place of deposit be appointed for such tools, as belong to the Company and that all tools be carefully deposited in the same when not in use. Viz., In the brick-house cellar all of the shovels, hoes, mattocks, iron bars, stone wedges, picks, iron wedges, belts and belting. Also at the blacksmith shop at Burrough's all plows, harrows, ox yokes, chains, double-trees, single-trees. At the horse barn, all saddles, bridles and horse harness of all descriptions. In the brick house garret all of the rakes, forks, scythes and scythe harness. All Carpenter's and Joiner's tools belonging to the wagon shop, also to the carpenter's and joiner's shop and factory be carefully deposited immediately after being used by the persons using them under the penalty of forfeiting the price of the tool not duly returned.

4th. A motion was made and carried in the affirmative that the horse that was purchased by A. K. Burroughs of Elijah Loveland be received by the Company at the price that said Burroughs paid for him and placed to his credit at Thirty Dollars.

5th. A motion was made and carried in the affirmative that Amasa Bailey be and is hereby appointed to see that all tools belonging to the Company are placed in the proper place agreeable to the third motion under this date above, under the penalty of losing his appointment if not done within a reasonable time.

6th. Meeting adjourned to the usual time.

A. K. Burroughs, *Chairman.*
Jehiel Fox, *Clerk.*

December 22, 1827.

Met agreeable to adjournment and passed the following resolutions. Viz.,

That all of the male members meet at the carpenter's shop every evening for the purpose of knowing from the Superin-

tendents the business of the following day, the meeting to be held at 8 o'clock, P. M.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to report at our next meeting a plan to amend the Bond of Compact. The following members were appointed as that committee: S. Underhill, J. Fox, John Harmon.

No further business presenting itself the meeting adjourned to the usual time of holding the same.

J. Fox, *Clerk.*

DECEMBER 29, 1827.

The members of the Kendal Community met according to adjournment. A. Bailey, Chairman, pro tem.

A motion was made and carried in the affirmative that the Commissioners be authorized to sell timber and other personal property that they may think prudent for the benefit of the Company.

The committee appointed at our last meeting were re-appointed to report at our next meeting an additional clause to be annexed to our Bond of Compact relative to individuals charging interest on any property turned into the common stock of the Company by all members subscribing to the amendment for the relinquishment of interest.

Meeting adjourned to the first day of January next at 1 o'clock, P. M.

A. BAILEY, *Chairman,*
JEHIEL FOX, *Clerk.*

JAN'Y 1st, 1828.

Voted that Asa K. Burroughs, Henry Fosdick, Jehiel Fox, Frederick Oberlin and William G. Macy be appointed Commissioners.

Voted that Jehiel Fox be appointed treasurer.

Voted that Jethro Macy be appointed Clerk.

Meeting adjourned to Saturday next.

SATURDAY, Jan'y 5th, 1828.

Met agreeable to adjournment.

Voted that the Commissioners meet weekly on Wednesday evening.

SATURDAY, Jan'y 12th, 1828.

Voted that Nathaniel Underhill take the charge of the garden.

Voted that Charles C. Wright of New York be empowered to act as agent for the Community to raise capital and render us such assistance as he may be capable of.

SATURDAY, Jan'y 19th, 1828.

Voted that the Commissioners be requested to appoint sub-committees to manage several of the various departments of business of the community.

The business of the meeting of the first of January having been minuted on a loose sheet of paper, it has been inadvertently omitted to be recorded in its proper place.

JAN'Y 1st, 1828.

At a general meeting of the members the following resolutions were passed.

The committee appointed at our last meeting made a report on the subject submitted to them touching interest on property turned into the common stock of the Community. The following persons voted in favour of the relinquishment of interest.

We, the subscribers, members of the Kendal Community conceiving the mutual charge of interest by each member putting in property to militate against the prosperity and genius of the Constitution, do hereby mutually agree with each other, that from the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight, we will ourselves charge none as individuals, but hereby give all the interest that would accrue to us, from time to time, a donation to the Society, and that part of the Bond of Compact giving interest on property turned into common stock is hereby repealed and annulled so far as relates to the persons signing this instrument.

The regulation allowing monthly wages to each member of the Community dated April 19th, 1827, is suspended by vote.

A motion was made by Amasa Bailey that a committee be appointed to make report as soon as practicable, the dividend to

each member which was declared to devolve on the Commissioners.

Resolved, That no property other than money heretofore turned in or hereafter to be turned in to the common stock of this community by any member thereof or by any persons, unless by special agreement, shall draw interest after this date, notwithstanding any specifications to the contrary in the article called the Bond of Compact.

SATURDAY, Jan'y 26th, 1828.

The company met. Time of the meeting occupied in conversation, none of which was legally acted upon.

SATURDAY, Feb'y 2, 1828.

The company met, some misunderstandings rectified and some imaginary grievances redressed, and some suggestions made to facilitate the business of the Commissioners.

SATURDAY, Feb'y 9, 1828.

Much important conversation this evening in relation to the business of the Community, particularly relating to the cultivation of onions, carrots, potatoes, etc., and a dissertation on the great advantages of a good garden, also on the evils of exorbitant profits on articles bought at retail prices. The necessity of having a machine for breaking flax was stated which it was thought best to have immediately. It was also concluded to prosecute the building of a house for the use of the members vigorously.

SATURDAY, Feb'y 16, 1828.

The committee appointed by the Commissioners reported that they had made considerable progress towards an inventory of the property and wished to be continued another week.

SATURDAY, Feb'y 23, 1828.

The committee appointed to take an inventory of the property report that they have completed that business, the reading of which was postponed until next week.

The petition of Sarah Ann Cady was read when it was concluded not to receive her as a member.

Voted that Asa K. Burroughs serve as Acting Commissioner and that Jehiel Fox be Commissioner and master builder, and that he have the assistance of Henry Fosdick, David Culver, Larry McCall, William T. Harding, and Martin Langdon.

March 1st, 1828.

Voted that the report of the committee appointed by the Commissioners to take an inventory of the property be accepted.

Voted that the meeting adjourn to meet again on Tuesday evening next, the 4th of March.

March 4, 1828.

The company met and resolved that it was expedient to build a mill, etc., and were willing that certain individuals should be selected for that purpose.

March 8, 1828.

Voted that Nathaniel Underhill serve as Chairman for the evening.

Voted that we adjourn until tomorrow evening.

March 9, 1828.

Met agreeable to adjournment.

The petition of Delucena Newcomb to become a member of the Community was read and granted.

Voted that an inventory and appraisal of all the property, household furniture and clothing belonging to the members be taken and the mending of the same to be done at the expense of the Community.

Voted that all executive power be jointly vested in the Commissioners notwithstanding any By-Laws to the contrary.

Voted that a committee be appointed to revise the Constitution, By-Laws and Bond of Compact.

Voted that Samuel Underhill, Amasa Bailey, and Luther Hanchett be appointed to serve on the above mentioned business.

Voted that Amasa Bailey and William G. Macy be appointed to take an inventory and appraisal of the furniture of those persons not heretofore inventoried and appraised.

MARCH 16, 1828.

Voted that the revised Constitution be recommitted to the committee.

Voted that we adjourn till tomorrow evening.

MARCH 17, 1828.

Voted that we accept the Constitution as now presented.

MARCH 19, 1828.

Voted that the Society come prepared on next Saturday evening to elect five Commissioners.

Voted that the following persons be appointed to attend to the building: Viz., Jehiel Fox, L. McCall, H. Burroughs, A. K. Burroughs, H. C. Fosdick, E. Dunn, P. Wagoner, and M. Langdon, J. Blackman, Amasa Bailey, W. T. Harding, J. Winter, W. Macy, Elijah Bigelow; and for farming, F. Oberlin, Adam Oberlin, David Solomon, David Kennedy, D. Culver, S. Davis, J. Sailor, J. Harmon, N. Underhill, H. Camp, E. C. Hussey.

MARCH 22, 1828.

Voted that A. K. Burroughs, Samuel Underhill, Wm. Macy, Amasa Bailey, and John Harmon be Commissioners.

Voted that Frederick Oberlin, John Harmon, and Frederick Camp be a committee to superintend the agricultural concerns.

Voted that Nathaniel Underhill serve as gardener.

Voted that we adjourn until tomorrow evening at 6 P. M.

MARCH 23, (SUNDAY EVENING).

On the application of Joseph Tinkler for a review of his former settlement, voted that this community have no further dealings with said Tinkler, except to collect our dues from him.

On a similar claim from William Widgeon, voted the same be referred to the Commissioners.

On motion, voted that the community meet on next Tuesday evening at 7 o'clock to take up the subject of a revision of our Constitution and By-Laws. Also voted that Asa K. Burroughs and John Harmon be an additional committee to prepare a draft of a Revised Constitution.

Meeting adjourned.

JOHN HARMON, *Clerk, pro tem.*

March 25, 1828.

Met and adjourned till tomorrow evening.

March 26, 1828.

Met agreeable to adjournment.

The committee appointed for the purpose reported a draft of a new Constitution which was read, and with some small alterations, accepted by the meeting.

Voted that Samuel Underhill be a committee to procure it to be printed with a caption.

Meeting adjourned until Saturday next at 6 o'clock at the brick house.

March 29, 1828, Saturday.

Met agreeable to adjournment.

Voted, that the trustees be authorized to close the contract with Arvine Wales giving him eight acres and 100 rods for 3 acres.

Voted, that the Commissioners be requested to select for our consideration and approval such sub-committees as they may think needful for transacting the business of the Society.

Voted, that we adjourn till Monday evening at 7 P. M.

March 31, 1828.

Met agreeable to adjournment. The Constitution was signed by most of the members.

April 5, 1828.

Amount of sawing for the two last weeks	$27 90
Tailor work for the week	5 81
Blacksmith work	7 50
Uncle Jonathan wound 100 bobbins	50

A letter from L. T. Everett was read in which he made application for membership which was granted, and Samuel Underhill, Amasa Bailey, and Jehiel Fox were appointed to correspond with said Everett on the subject.

Voted that we adjourn till tomorrow evening at 7 P. M.

April 6, 1828.

Met agreeable to adjournment. The letter written by the committee and addressed to L. T. Everett was read, criticised and directed to be forwarded.

April 12, 1828.

Voted that the Commissioners have the care of the lumber and limestone.

April 19, 1828.

Amount of sawing this week—10 days	$34 51
Tailoring	10 07
Blacksmithing	10 25
	$63 63

Adjourned till tomorrow evening at 6 o'clock.

Sunday, April 20, 1828.

Met and adjourned.

April 26, 1828.

Amount of sawing this week	$24 30
Smith's work, $7 community, $7 out	14 00
Sadler Shop	8 00
Doctors	2 00
Trees set out this year	4 50

Voted that Wm. G. Macy, John Harmon and D. Newcomb be appointed to take charge of the boys and employ them as profitably as possible.

April 27, 1828.

Met agreeable to adjournment.

The petition of Richard Hussey was read and accepted.

Dr. Delucena Newcomb arrived here and located the 22nd instant.

Samuel Davis left the community the 25th inst.

Calvin Reed left the community the 25th inst.

Voted that the women of the community being wives of the

members of this Society, shall be considered as members of the community on signing the Constitution.

Voted that the women of the community meet once each week and report to the Commissioners the wants of the various families which occur in the female department.

MAY 3, 1828.

Voted that Wm. G. Macy be released from the charge of the boys and that Jethro Macy take the charge in his stead.

Amount of tailor work since April 23d	$10 25
Amount of blacksmith work	15 62

Daniel Pond came forward at this meeting and requested to be admitted as a member of this Community, when it was concluded to give him an opportunity of proving his usefulness.

MAY 10, 1828.

No record of any business.

MAY 17, 1828.

The clerk being absent Nathaniel Underhill was appointed for the evening and John Saylor to the chair.

S. Underhill's bill for medical attendance for the week past is	$7 12
Sawmill report is	16 43
Amount of blacksmith work	12 00
	$35 55

John H. Blackman presented a petition for liberty to withdraw, which was agreed to by a unanimous vote.

John Harmon and Amasa Bailey are appointed to examine the old and new Constitutions and report whether the new Constitution has three-fourths of the male members' names set to it.

The above committee report that three-fourths of the adult members have signed the new Constitution and it is also voted that the New Constitution be and is in full force hereafter and bears date of the 17th of May, 1828.

MAY 24, 1828.

Voted that each Commissioner have a pencil book and keep a careful account of all his transactions and if any member get an article or transact any business that he report the same forthwith to the Commissioners.

Voted that Amasa Bailey and Samuel Underhill be a committee to employ a teacher and establish a school.

Jonathan Moores' resignation dated May 18th, was accepted.

Voted that no person take any vegetables from the garden without leave of the gardener.

Voted that the Company meet every fourth week at the school-house.

Samuel Underhill's bill for medical attention for the week past is	$12 53
Blacksmith's report for the week	12 00
Sawmill report for the week	21 17
Tailoring since May 5th	19 87
	$65 57

JUNE 20th, 1828.

Voted that Asa K. Burroughs be appointed chairman for this meeting.

Report of sawing since May 24	$64 62
Report of tailoring since May 24	14 12½

JULY 26th, 1828.

Voted that any person leaving the business of the Community and going elsewhere to work without the consent of the Commissioners shall be charged any amount that the Commissioners shall deem the damage to be to the interest of the Community.

Voted that we adjourn until tomorrow at 9 o'clock.

JULY 27th, 1828.

Met agreeable to adjournment.

The request of Chester Clough to become a member of Kendal Community was read and referred to a committee, Viz. Delucena Newcomb and Asa K. Burroughs, to report at the next meeting.

Voted that a committee of five persons be appointed to meet with Philip Wagoner in regard to a settlement and report on Thursday next at 7 o'clock.

SEPT. 10, 1828.

A special meeting of the Kendal Community was called. Henry Fosdick, Chairman, and D. C. Pratt, Clerk.

Voted that the Company be requested to notify the members of the Community to attend a meeting on the 11th inst. at 7 o'clock, P. M.

Voted that Amasa Bailey be requested to attend and make a report as usual.

Voted that the meeting adjourn to the 11th inst. at 7 o'clock, P. M., at the home of John Harmon.

SEPTEMBER 11th, 1828.

Company met pursuant to adjournment.

Samuel Underhill in the chair and John Harmon, Clerk.

Philip Wagoner, Adam Oberlin, John Oberlin, Delucena Newcomb and Mary Newcomb are by vote permitted to withdraw from this company according to their respective requests.

Voted that the Company hereafter hold their stated meetings every Saturday evening.

Meeting adjourned to meet at this place.

JOHN HARMON, *Clerk pro tem.*

OCTOBER 5th, 1828.

The Kendal Community voted that Jethro Macy be and is hereby released from all connection with said Community and he is to have all the furniture in the house he now occupies, also the provisions and spinning wheel and rolls and everything of every kind in his house.

Voted that Samuel Underhill be released from the Community and that he have all the furniture that he may have had of the Community, and that he be allowed all the amount that he may have charged and not collected against individuals out of the Community, his electrical machine, and all the medicine that he may have on hand, together with his books and surgical instruments, and that the above be a full and complete discharge and settlement.

Voted that Edward Dunn be released from Kendal Community and that the Community pay him fifteen dollars in cash which he lent them.

Voted that William G. Macy be released from all connection with Kendal Community.

Voted that James Bayliss be released from all connection with Kendal Community and that Kendal Community pay him, the said James Bayliss, ten dollars, in cash.

Voted that Edward Hussey be released from all connection with Kendal Community.

Voted that the Company adjourn until tomorrow at 2 o'clock P. M. at the house of John Harmon.

JETHRO MACY, *Clerk.*
J. HARMON, *Chairman.*

OCTOBER 6th, 1828.

Community met pursuant to adjournment and appointed Amasa Bailey, Clerk pro tem.

The petition of John Sprague to be dismissed from the Community was presented and read and not agreed to.

The petition of Henry C. Fosdick to be discharged from the Kendal Community was read and agreed to on the following conditions: That he have his shoemaking tools and carpenter tools and all the furniture that he has in possession (except a . . . of foxes, and a crane in the fire-place), some flax in the bundle, a quantity of garden sauce to be agreed upon, and the Company is to pay D. Middleton one dollar and Aaron Chapman thirty-three cents on his account as it now stands; it was voted and carried in the affirmative.

The petition of Nathaniel Underhill to be dismissed from the Kendal Community was received and agreed to on the following conditions: That he have the household furniture in his possession, except the cupboard that he has in use, that he is to have some stocking wool, some garden sauce, and flax in the bundle, and tobacco that he has saved. It was voted and carried in the affirmative.

Meeting adjourned until Saturday next.

JOHN HARMON, *Chairman.*
AMASA BAILEY, *Clerk.*

At a regular meeting of Kendal Community held at J. Fox's, October 11th, 1828, Jehiel Fox, Chairman, and John Harmon, Clerk pro tem.

On motion, agreed, that a committee of three be appointed to submit to our next meeting a written plan for the regulation of our concerns, and particularly, a plan for leasing part or all of the property of the Company. On motion, voted, that Jehiel Fox and John Harmon and Amasa Bailey be said committee.

Voted that this meeting adjourn to meet at this place tomorrow P. M. at 3 o'clock.

JOHN HARMON, *Chairman.*

OCTOBER 12, 1828.

Meeting convened pursuant to adjournment.

On a reconsideration of the application of John Sprague for a discharge, it was agreed to, and that he have the blacksmith tools and one pair of young oxen, his household furniture and a share of garden sauce, and have a final discharge from the Community.

On application of David Solomon to withdraw from this Community, resolved, that Amasa Bailey be authorized to settle with and discharge the said David Solomon accordingly.

Voted that John Harmon be authorized to procure an exchange of receipts and discharges between this Community and Anna Underhill, Deborah Underhill, ———— Fosdick, Jane Biglow, Mary Pratt and Mary Harding.

WHEREAS, Elijah Bigelow and Daniel C. Pratt have for some time past discontinued cooperating for this Community and have disclaimed the privileges of the same, therefore,

Resolved, That the Commissioners be authorized to call on the said Bigelow and Pratt for settlement and to discharge them from this Community.

On the application of Elijah B. Bottsford for his discharge from this Community, voted that the said Elijah B. Bottsford be discharged accordingly.

Meeting adjourned.

JEHIEL FOX, *Chairman.*
JOHN HARMON, *Clerk.*

At a meeting of Kendal Community, otherwise called Friendly Association for Mutual Interest, held at the brick house on January 1st, 1829, John Saylor, Chairman, and John Harmon, Clerk.

On motion, voted that Horace Burroughs and John Harmon be a committee to draft an instrument to authorize the trustees to make and appoint Arvine Wales our agent to make deeds of the Kendal Community land.

Voted that Wm. Skinner, Larry McCall and Amasa Bailey be a committee to make an inventory of the personal property of the Community.

Meeting adjourned till tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

JANUARY 2, 1829.

Members convened and the written authority to A. Wales above mentioned, being prepared was presented.

JANUARY 3, 1829.

Same executed and deposited with M. Macy. Luther Hanchett appointed Chairman.

On motion, voted unanimously, that this Company take immediate measures to discontinue business as a Company and that measures be taken to sell off the personal property of the Company, except the machinery in the woolen factory, and clothing establishment.

Voted that William Skinner, Amasa Bailey and Luther Hanchett be a committee to prepare a detailed plan for closing the concern of the Company and report the same to an adjourned meeting.

Voted that Luther Hanchett and Larry McCall be a committee to settle with Dr. Samuel Underhill.

Voted that this meeting adjourn to next Monday morning at 9 o'clock.

JANUARY 5, 1829.

Company met and adjourned till tomorrow morning at nine o'clock.

JANUARY 6, 1829.

Company met at the brick house agreeable to adjournment. Horace Burroughs was appointed Chairman and J. Harmon, Clerk.

INVENTORY OF PROPERTY OF THE KENDAL COMMUNITY TAKEN 15TH OF FEB., 1828.

Land 2,183 acres valued at	$21500.00
Improvements since June 1st, 1826, fence	320.00
Carpenter's shop and corn house	220.00
Blacksmith's shop	40.00
Forebay or flume at factory	75.00
Looms $100, Shearing Machine $100	200.00
Quill wheels, warping bars, &c	30.00
Land cleared, 30 acres	100.00
Orchard $75, grain on the ground $280	355.00
Hewn Stone $200, Lumber $300	500.00
8 horses $250, 4 yoke oxen, $120	370.00
Cows and young cattle	293.00
90 sheep at $1.50, 1 buck $5.00	140.00
Blacksmith's tools	68.00
Greenhides	40.00
Improvements on sawmill	20.00
Stock tools and work in shoe shop	15.00
Stock tools and work in wagon shop	124.00
	$24410.00

Improvements on factory in tools, machinery, &c, as also stock on hand, Viz.:

Ropings and wool	$30.00
Reeds $12, press-paper $6	18.00
Carding Machine $300, Picker $15	315.00
2 Spinning Jinnys $55, Roving billy $30	85.00
Press Bar $2.50, Stoves & Pipe $24.00	26.50
3 kettles (iron) Dye stuff	26.00
Teasle $3.00, Pails $1.00, Soap $1.25	5.25
Act Book $1, Brushes $1	2.00
Cloth on hand in factory	153.61
Amount in factory and Dye shop	$661.36
Amount brot down	24410.00
	$25071.36

Farming tools and carpenter's tools	$85.21
3 wagons, 1 ox cart, 1 water cart	140.00
Harness for horses	85.00
4 riding saddles and bridles	33.00
Bags $15, axes $20	35.00
Rakes & pitchforks	8.00
Shovels & hoes	9.00
Sleds $5, grindstones $6	11.00
Wagon box $6, hayracks $5	11.00
2 turning lathes, sash stuff, wheels, indigo mill, side saddle, etc.	68.00
Carpenter's & Joiner's tools of J. Fox	149.62
Stock, work finished & tools in sadler's shop	161.59
Grain on hand $50, Meat $80	130.00
Potatoes	40.00
Due on notes and accounts	388.87
Balances found due evening of 16th of Feb'y	95.60
Amount brot down	25071.36
	$26522.25

SCHEDULE OF DEBTS OWED BY THE KENDAL COMMUNITY FEB'Y 16TH, 1828.

Due for premises	$19350.59
Due Jonathan Taylor	1030.00
Due Arvine Wales	1243.04
Due Barrillai Wells & Co	30.00
" John Wagoner	43.75
" Theophilus Potter	160.00
" for shearing machine	55.00
" John Asicke	10.00
" Frederick Miller	40.00
" Frederick Oberlin	21.45
" Philip Wagoner	133.87
" Amasa Bailey	198.75
" Judgment in favour of Kitchel	55.00
" Fogle $7.00, Saxton $3.00	10.00
" Judgments in favour of McDole & Taylor	60.00
" Ambrose Chapman	10.00
" Frederick Shepley	8.00
" Estate of Charity Rotch	43.92
" Harris $20, Miss Landom $11.00	31.00
" Daniel Meyers	5.00
	$22539.37

SCHEDULE OF DEBTS DUE MEMBERS OF COMMUNITY.

Jehiel Fox	$686.25
John Sailor	97.75
Jonathan Moore	81.91
Adam Oberlin	189.89
John Harmon	189.89
William Skinner	51.87
John Sprague	203.57
Samuel Davis	67.55
Martin Langdon	41.90
Elijah Bigelow	31.08
Jonathan Winter, $175.95, & $400	575.95
David Culver	421.07
David Solomon	74.33
Frederick Oberlin	296.72
Larry McCall	130.91
Calvin Reed	80.39
William T. Harding	225.68
Philip Wagoner	635.15
Amasa Bailey	614.08
Wm. H. Hanchett	48.11
Wm. Wigeon	102.91
Daniel C. Pratt	35.74
Asa K. Burroughs	510.09
Edward Dunn	30.00
James Bayliss	14.32
Samuel Underhill	186.89
	$5624.00

The following are the sums total of household goods as appraised by J. Fox and Phillip Wagoner and by Amasa Bailey and William Macy in committees appointed by the Society for that purpose. The sum set to each name is the sum total of household goods and clothing as will appear by inventory on file:

March 15,	1828	Jethro Macy	$750.75
Feb'y,	1827	Amasa Bailey	447.56
	1827	Luther Hanchett	292.44
	1827	David Culver	109.23
	1827	John Sprague	102.44
	1827	John Saylor	138.61
	1827	William Harding	111.76
	1827	Phillip Wagoner	205.90
	1827	Samuel Davis	349.63

March,	1828	Samuel Underhill	231.21
	1828	Nathaniel Underhill	226.73
	1828	Martin Langdon	150.00
	1828	John Oberlin	84.37
	1828	David Solomon	65.10
	1828	William G. Macy	90.49
	1828	Edward C. Hussey	66.62
	1828	Jehial Fox	384.00
	1828	John Harmon	328.50
	1828	Asa K. Burroughs	420.68
	1828	Larry McCall	262.76
	1828	Jonathan Moor	275.18
	1828	John Blackman	150.47
	1828	Daniel Pratt	104.22
	1828	Edward Dunn	45.34
	1828	James Bayliss	44.85
	1828	Frederick Oberlin	153.11
	1828	Adam Oberlin	122.51
	1828	D. C. Newcomb	149.39

[Thus the affairs of the Kendal Community, after an existence of some three years, come to an end. We hope in some future number of the QUARTERLY to give the particulars of the final result, showing the outcome to the community itself and to its individual members. — E. O. R.]

THE OHIO RIVER.

ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT,

Professor of American History, Marietta College; President of the Ohio Valley Historical Association; author of "Historic Highways of America," "The Ohio River," etc.

The mountain ranges of this Continent generally trend from North to South. The greatest rivers trend in the same general direction, particularly the St. Lawrence, Mississippi and Hudson, all of which were to play an important role as avenues of approach for the races which fell heir to the Continent. But the Europeans, landing on our Atlantic coast were compelled to explore and occupy the land along East and West lines, the social movement in general cutting straight across the general trend of the greater mountain ranges and river valleys.

An interesting result followed. So far as actually playing a definite part in the western expansion of America is concerned, the lesser streams were of greater importance than many of the larger ones, and one cannot have a very clear understanding of the development of our Nation without knowing something of the place and power of the Juniata, Mohawk, Wood Creek, Connemaugh, Watauga, Holston, Fox and Wisconsin rivers. Said Edward Everett in 1835: "The destinies of the country, if I may use a language which sounds rather mystical but which every one, I believe, understands, — the destinies of the country run east and west". At the moment, when the building of the Boston and Albany Railroad was under discussion, the Housatonic was of more importance to New England than the Connecticut; if Boston nails were to continue their battle successfully against Pittsburg nails in the West the Housatonic would be responsible.

Perhaps this introductory word will bring out as plainly as possible the one great important fact concerning the Ohio River — its position on the Continent. It paralleled the "destinies of the

country", running from the Northeast to the Southwest; more than all other rivers combined, probably, it directed and aided the exploration, conquest and occupation of the land.

The second great fact to be noted is that enough water fell in the two hundred thousand square miles of Ohio River drainage to make a river useful for the high mission of empire-building. Measured by its total output, the Ohio is a greater river than the Missouri; it is greater than the Mississippi above the mouth of the Missouri; one-fourth of all the water entering the Gulf of Mexico comes from the Ohio.

Francis Parkman once expressed the hope of being able to prove that that King of Adventurers, La Salle, discovered and explored the great stream that became known as La Belle Riviere, about 1670. The hope was never realized and it is exceedingly doubtful if any one of the hundred-odd theories to this effect will ever emerge to the stature of a Fact. Whether discovered then or a decade or two later, the daring dreams of French conquest of this last and fairest Continent took them westward by the Wisconsin, Illinois and Wabash avenues to the giant Mississippi, and La Belle Riviere was left unfortified and unoccupied until, in the middle of the eighteenth century, it was threatened by the English who were creeping up the Potomac and James to a slow but sure conquest of the promised land beyond.

In 1747 a company of enterprising Virginians formed an "Ohio Company" and got from their King a grant of land on the upper Ohio. I speak in present-day terms; at that time the Ohio was the Allegheny and Ohio of today; it was after the middle of the century that the Allegheny became known as a separate river. And it should be added, in this connection, that the "Ohio country" of that period was all territory contiguous to the Ohio River; reputable maps dated as late as 1776 bore the name "Ohio" on the South as well as the North side of the Ohio River. The Ohio Company at once sent out a mighty man of valor, Christopher Gist, to count the giants and the grapes in the land beyond the rough Alleghanies.

Suddenly the boasting French at Quebec were thrown into a panic. While chanting the heroism of their marvelous ex-

plorations of the Mississippi had the rich piece of cheese which they really had in their mouths fallen into the maw of the hungry fox which had sneaked across that impenetrable mountain wall? Post haste a body of men were forwarded to the endangered Valley under the command of the cautious Céloron de Bienville by way of Lakes Erie and Chautauqua with leaden plates which were to be buried at the mouths of the principal tributaries of the Ohio to reinforce the claim to the Valley made by La Salle's plate buried at the mouth of the Mississippi three-quarters of a century before. That plate claimed for France all lands drained by the waters which there entered the Gulf of Mexico. Céloron buried his plates at the mouth of the Conewango (Warren, Pa.) at Indian God Rock (near Franklin, Pa.) at the mouths of Wheeling Creek and the Muskingum, Great Kanawha and Great Miami rivers. Why he ignored the Monongahela River — the point of actual danger — is a mystery of interest and wonder. Perhaps he thought it safest not to claim the valley in which the English were already planning settlements, leaving it a neutral passageway. This is a difficult theory to accept, but that he did not see the river or forgot to mark it is more impossible still.

From at least two sources the English heard of Céloron's expedition. The rapid series of events which followed needs no description here — Washington's tour to the forts the French built along Céloron's route, the Fort Necessity Campaign, Braddock's brave march and astonishing defeat and the conquest of Fort Duquesne by the dying but victorious Scotchman, John Forbes.

Until England came into control of the upper Ohio in 1758 the river had merely been a goal. The steps by which the river now became a force in human affairs has rarely been outlined by the formal historians and seems to be understood not at all by the reading public. Between the close of the French War and the beginning of the Revolution in 1775 the Allegheny trails from Virginia and Pennsylvania were traversed by hundreds of pioneers who settled in what was long known loosely as "the Monongahela Country", the region South and East of infant Pittsburg. This may be made to include the "Pan-handle" of

West Virginia. With Brownsville, Pa., as a center draw a circle having a radius of fifty miles in length. That circle will embrace a region of tremendous power in the making of America in the past as well as in the present. But I do not think that it is too much to say that that region would not have been of much less potency if the Ohio River had not existed. The valleys which focused there were a heritage in themselves; in the early days this was true because of the nature of the soil; in later days because of the wealth found under the soil. The Monongahela Country received its vital population before the Ohio River became of great importance in human affairs — before the close of the Revolutionary War.

Now look to the Southwest. With Lexington, Ky., as a center draw another circle with a circumference as great as that in the Monongahela Country. Here in the decade following the Revolution another great center of population was formed — in the "barrens" (prairies) of Kentucky. I have said that the Monongahela Country would have become important had there been no Ohio River. What of this Kentucky region? Still less did it owe its early development to the Ohio River. Of course some early pioneers came to it on the river. But Colonel Richard Henderson with Daniel Boone opened the door to this rich empire by way of Cumberland Gap. Before the Ohio River became anything more than a nominal highway to the Southwest Kentucky had a population of thirty thousand souls. By 1790 its population was over the seventy-five thousand mark, and immigration down the Ohio River had only just begun.

The reader may say that I am writing an article on the "Unimportance of the Ohio River". If I can only show how unimportant the Ohio was in creating the two great vitally important settlements upon its waters, I can succeed in my purpose of showing how and when the Ohio River became a mighty power in the story of our Nation-making. Do you remember Yancy in the fine story "The Prodigal Judge"? He had to prove the "eternal slowness" of his mule or his story "wasn't worth a hill o' beans".

Such then was the situation at, let us say, the close of the Revolution in 1784. Two great regions had been comparatively

thickly populated on the Ohio River, one, the Monongahela Country on its upper waters, and Kentucky, four hundred miles to the Southwest. In each case agriculture had been the piloting influence. Now between these settlements there was very little good land except the bottoms along the river, separated one from the other by bluffs and rocky headlands. Scattered as these were along the silver chain of water, the conditions of the period forbade their occupation; the redskins North of the Ohio were not awed into even seeming peace until 1795; and, indeed, when these bottoms came to be occupied it was found that there was little good land on the hills above the river. Look at the Valley in our own day. Where will you find a river in all the world flowing through such a central region of a rich Nation which, for four hundred miles of its course, can count such a small population, so few cities, as were to be found on the Ohio between Pittsburg and Cincinnati at the beginning of the present century? Until about 1895 there was not a town of ten thousand inhabitants in all the four hundred miles between Wheeling and Cincinnati. One hundred years before, in 1795, the rush of immigration was on by way of the Ohio River; from November 1787 to the same month in 1788 eighteen thousand people went by Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum; it took one hundred years for a town containing that many souls to grow up in all the hundreds of miles between Wheeling and Cincinnati — and there are not more than two or three today.

It must be clear, now, that the Ohio River has been one of the greatest forwarding and distributing agencies ever known in history. Most rivers have been important because they invited to their shores a great and steadily increasing population creating States, government and civilization. Not so with the Ohio. Its historic role has been to forward quickly to distant empires the home-seekers and home-builders, in the nick of time, to count tremendously as a factor in Nation-building; and the fruits of the Ohio's importance, historically, are to be looked for and found in the meadow-lands of Kentucky and the prairie-lands of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas. Europe laughed to scorn the pretensions of the young American Republic in asserting sovereignty from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi;

France and England, rich monarchies, had found that Trans-Allegheny empire too heavy a burden; how, then, could the feeble Republic, "one nation today, thirteen tomorrow" carry it? For just one reason. It could lay down a population almost instantly in a strategically rich agricultural region that would command the Mississippi and its western tributaries. We vastly over-estimate the importance of marching armies and rising fortresses and proportionately overlooked the genuinely vital importance of the timeliness of the seating of a self-supporting population in a debated country. I do not know how many "rides" Marcus Whitman took but I do know that his great ride was at the head of a marching army of settlers whose fires built on Oregon hearthstones were of infinite more moment, so far as conquest was concerned, than all the camp-fires that were ever known or planned in that noble country. Possession is nine and one-half tenths of the law in such cases. It might be too much to say that the Ohio saved to America the Mississippi Valley; but I do venture the assertion that if the land between Pittsburgh and Louisville for fifty miles on either side of the Ohio River had been as rich as that in Washington or Fayette counties in Pennsylvania or Ohio County in West Virginia American ownership of the Mississippi and expansion into the Trans-Mississippi country would have been most seriously opposed because it would not have been as timely as it was. I believe that the swift forwarding of a very Nation of pioneers through the Ohio Valley from 1785 to 1805 settled the continental dimensions of our Republic.

By what means did this great water-way accomplish its mission in Nation-building? This query introduces us to the romantic story of the three great eras of Ohio Valley history, the era of the canoe and keel-boat, the era of the flat-boat and barge and the steamboat era. These very largely overlap but in a measure are somewhat distinct. On shore, these eras are represented by the pack-horse, the freighter and the railway, though it was at least three decades after the steamboat became really a power before the railway at all supplanted the heavy freight wagon.

The canoe and keel-boat reigned supreme until about the close of the Revolution. Both had one notable distinction; they plied up the rivers as well as down. Through all of what, merely for purpose of emphasis, may be called the unimportant period of Ohio River history, these crafts were common everywhere, bringing explorers and surveyors and prospectors, plying between infant towns and the first mills and the salt-licks. You would expect me to say they bore thousands of pioneers to their future homes; while some came by that means I think a careful study of a number of specific instances will cause any one to come to the conclusion that a vast majority of the pioneers settling along the upper Ohio and in Kentucky — in the canoe and keel-boat era — very much ignored the rivers so far as immigration was concerned. I think the land routes, the Indian traces, deer paths and buffalo routes were of vastly more consequence than the waterways in this early era. Vehicles and cattle were prime requisites; the canoe and keel were not fitted for such cargoes. No rule will hold true in any case, but in general but I am of the impression that a correct picture of the day of the beginnings in this great valley will show a great transient population voyaging about in these first craft, with the settlements being made by those who came in them and along the land routes with carts and wagons and cattle and implements of agriculture. In the canoe era the Indians faithfully patrolled the Ohio; at the same time the lesser streams were well-nigh impassable because of fallen timber. You will recall that General Moses Cleaveland was unable to ascend the Cuyahoga at all because of the obstructions. One has to know very little of the early story of Kentucky to remember that the business of the infant settlements was conducted very largely on landward routes, and that all the little towns were located well back from the great river.

The keel-boat lost little of its importance with the dawning of the flat-boat era when the Ohio suddenly became a strategic "Course of Empire". The keel was much like a long round-bottom row boat roofed over, with running boards on each side. With long poles to their shoulders, the crew traversed these boards, "setting" the poles on the bottom of the stream or on any other support within reach and drove the craft forward

with infinite toil up-stream. The flat-boat was the all-important craft which made the Ohio a power in the world. It cannot be described, except by saying that anything that would float came under the classification. Steered by an oar, either in front or in the rear, propelled by pole, oar, sail or current, the flat-boat can be divided roughly into two classes; those more strongly constructed were usually destined for a longer journey — to the Mississippi or its tributaries—while those more loosely built were for the lower Ohio. The trading boats, wherever they were to ply, were, of course, strongly built. These were driven up-stream by pole, oar, sail or rope attached to the shore and "cordelled" upward at great expenditure of strength — and stimulants!

The loosely-built flat or barge (which, in general, was a covered flat-boat with bulwarks) appearing on the upper Ohio heralded the days of the Grand Advance; many armies with trumpets and banners had entered this western world but none had ever come to compare with the brown, uncouth regiments of eager homeseekers which knocked together thousands of these flat-boats and set sail for the prairie-lands to which the Ohio led. No trumpets announced the coming of this army, but the mellow call of the boat-man's horn rang a truer tune, so far as empire-making was concerned, than ever a sabre sang or musket crooned. For these Ships of State were floating palaces if you look at them carefully and see their true inwardness. Sawed lumber was the rarest thing in the Promised Land to which this strange army was headed. And so when the flat-boat was put together at the mills of the upper waters it was, in many cases, a house rearranged temporarily in the shape of a craft which would float. Arriving at the destination, the boat was knocked apart and a cabin, house, store or school-house arose as though created by a magician's wand from an ugly-looking scow or raft. Conquerers had come to the Mississippi by the thousands since La Salle buried his leaden plate, boasting splendidly; but none had come thither floating in their own homes, towing schools and stores in their wake until the American appeared on his raft and flat-boat — the true conqueror because he came to give as well as to get.

The flat-boat and barge reigned well along into the steamboat era which may be said to open about 1820. In March, 1811, Fulton and Livingston's first steamboat on western waters was launched at Pittsburgh, having been constructed by one of their partners, Nicholas J. Roosevelt, brother of Theodore Roosevelt's grandfather. Mr. Roosevelt had made a preliminary voyage down the Ohio and Mississippi to investigate the great valleys from the standpoint of steamboat navigation. His conclusion was that the rivers offered a great field for steam navigation. Accordingly the steamer "New Orleans", of about 400 tons burden, set sail on its maiden voyage from Pittsburgh October 20th, 1811. The necessity of stopping frequently for wood to supply the engine made the journey comparatively a slow one, though under the circumstances it was remarkably fast. Marietta was reached on the 23rd, Cincinnati on the 27th and Louisville the day following; the running time from Pittsburgh to Louisville was only 64 hours. On January 9th, 1812, New Orleans was reached in 259 hours, running time, from the starting point. This meant an average speed of eight miles an hour. While the feat was received with loud acclaim, it was not considered possible for a steam-driven craft to ascend these great rivers without the aid of the same means of propulsion used by the keel — and flatboat-men. In 1817 the good ship "Washington", built by Henry Shreve, partly from the timbers of old Fort Henry at Wheeling, proved that the steamboat could master these giant rivers — and the day of steam on western waters had dawned. It was not until the second decade of the century that people guessed the future greatness of the steamboat era; but by 1842 the steamboat tonnage of the Mississippi Basin exceeded that of all Great Britain of 1834 by forty thousand tons, and had over half the entire tonnage of the United States. In that year Pittsburgh had a registered tonnage greater than that of Philadelphia, Boston and Charleston combined. At the same time Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, combined, had a registered tonnage five thousand tons greater than all the Great Lake ports combined.

The bright, fascinating picture of these valleys in the heyday of the steamboat has been drawn on hundreds of pages and

it is well-known. Famous palaces were such gay boats as the "Yorktown", and famous record-breakers were the "J. M. White" and the "R. A. Lee". The steamer's deck was the fashion-plate of the day, steamer's pilots were Nation's heroes known far and wide for their prowess at the wheel. Most important, however, was the steamer's contribution in Nation-building by making great cities in these valleys; for the growth of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Louisville dates back to this era, while Wheeling, Steubenville, Marietta, Parkersburg, Huntington, Portsmouth, Ironton, Evansville, Paducah and Cairo came into important notice in the era of the steamboat. With the advent of the railways the steamboat era has given way, in a sense, to a momentous sequel which may be described as the era of the Steel Barge.

Neither the story of the Ohio's place in empire-building nor that of its developing eras of navigation are more interesting than what we may term the "melting-pot" aspect of its social history. First to its sweeping shores crept the daring, resourceful Irish, Scotch-Irish and German pioneer-traders, occupying a large portion of its headwaters — the Monongahela Country. Then came the valiant Virginians and Carolinians who made Kentucky the key-stone State of the Middle West for at least four famous decades. In their wake came the stream of Yankee immigration to build up around Marietta and Cincinnati the giant walls of anti-slavery sentiment that should make the Ohio the western extension of Mason and Dixon's Line, saving West Virginia and Kentucky to the Union and giving Joseph E. Johnson to the Southern armies and Grant and Sherman to the Northern. The crossing of these virile stocks by the settlement of over half a hundred doughty New England families in Kentucky, by the occupation of the Scioto Valley in Ohio by cavalier Virginians, and the swarming of thousands of Southerners along the routes northward from Cincinnati has led to the commingling of Northern and Southern blood to which Ohio orators "point with pride" in crowning proof of the nobility of the cosmopolitan Ohioan who, with the aid of the Creator, regulates the movements of our Planet.

Or, if you please, consider the story of the great river biographically. From La Salle to the steel, yeast, soap and

whiskey kings of our time, is, perhaps, a far cry, but the destinies of this great valley have and today still lie in the hands of mighty men of valor whose names are synonyms of nobility, bravery, foresight, patriotism and integrity. Note the stalwart proportions of the first two, Christopher Gist who opened the front door of the Valley by way of the Potomac, and Daniel Boone who opened the Cumberland Gap highway to the promised land. Beside its sweeping shores Pontiac, Tecumseh and Little Turtle laid their first cunning ambuscades, and the noble Logan mourned the passing of all his kin with an oratorical brilliancy that leads us to doubt that Yankees built the first distillery in Kentucky. Washington fought his boyhood battles on the Ohio tributaries, and explored the river as far down as the mouth of the Great Kanawha in 1770 and patented almost forty thousand acres of good land on and near its waters. So anxious to get the land was he that he wrote his agent, Col. Crawford, if it was not legal to take as large a patent as he wanted under one name to take out the necessary number of small ones. Returning from down the river in 1770 so anxious was he to examine carefully the land without arousing the suspicion of his fellow-voyagers that, coming to an island on which a bear was sighted, he asked to be landed that he might pursue bruin, which he did until his curiosity was satisfied! What a relief in our own day to see Presidents chasing bears for the bear's own sweet sake! George Rogers Clark came to the Ohio in the early seventies and spent a winter near Moundsville, W. Va. Some five years later he struggled to the deathless fame of the Illinois Conquest, laying the beginnings of proud Louisville as he went. Here in the wilderness of the Ohio were brewed a small army of those rough gallant spirits of the borderland, the Indian fighters, heroes like Girtys, Wetzells, Kentons, Harrods known to the pages of our boyhood books, to be followed by a second generation of equally picturesque characters, the rivermen of the keel — and flat-boat days. Of these Mike Fink was the perfect flower and fruit — who describes himself modestly in these magnetic words: "I can out-run, out-hop, out-jump, throw down, drag out and lick any man in the country. I'm a Salt River roarer; I love the wimming and I'm chock full of fight".

These were the days when travellers were advised not to stop at a tavern presided over by a landlord who was minus a nose, and when the absence of eye, nose, chin or ear was a source of the solemn pride that today is the ear-mark of the German student's honor.

The Ohio's role of honor bears the names of the Revolutionary officers who made the Ohio Company's settlement at Marietta, Putnam, Tupper, Parsons and the sons of Mannaseh Cutler and Israel Putnam; royal Partners of Empire, these, who pledged that if the young Republic would create a Territory West of the Alleghanies they would move thither and make that Territory a genuine part of the Nation. Beautiful Marietta was the fulfillment of this solemn pledge, and here in 1788 the brave Pennsylvanian, General Arthur St. Clair, was inaugurated Governor over a mighty empire now embraced in the commonwealths Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. Here bold Commodore Whipple, hero of the "Gaspeé" incident in Narragansett Bay, built the "St. Clair", the first ocean-rigged vessel that ever went down the Ohio, and piloted her down the mazy channel and out to sea. Here arose Muskingum Academy, with a preceptor from Yale, the first school of higher learning between the Ohio, Mississippi and the Alleghanies, from which Marietta College proudly traces her beginnings. In that same year, 1797, an ardent young Virginian, Captain William Henry Harrison became Secretary of the Territory, the first step in a career of great renown. At about the same time the eccentric Irishman, Herman Blennerhassett, built, on an island near Parkersburgh which he called "Isle de Beau", a home forever famous in the Valley. Blennerhassett's folly can only be compared to that of the Ohio steamboat-maker who wanted a big whistle on his boat. He secured such a large one that when he blew the whistle he hadn't steam enough left to start the boat. Blennerhassett's house, which is said to have cost upwards of fifty thousand dollars, had not been built five years before its master found it too expensive a luxury and began to find a way to leave it and resume the practice of law. He secured a lawyer's advice on the subject — Aaron Burr's! With this renegade from the outraged public sentiment of the East he formed a partnership

for the exploitation of a southern land scheme, or what-not. It was another partnership of "magpie and eagle". Burr's arrival was timed as though the drama had been previously rehearsed, and the pitiful result is common knowledge. Whatever may be the facts of the case (and we certainly do not known them as yet) the romance of the episode has its lasting qualities, the parting of a fool with his money, the breaking of a lovely woman's heart, the spoliation of a handsome home — and a tribunal to find whose hands and skirts were clean! The historic island remains, but little changed by the river's whims. The "old well" and a giant hollow tree in which Burr hid to escape from the Indians (who would, of course, never have thought of looking in such secluded retreat!) and the "foundation stones" of the original homestead, remain to interest the tourist; on Sundays and holidays the island is widely visited, and the exuberant report of pop-bottles and the crack of the ball-bat is heard beneath the giant sycamores.

The Ohio has had its share of seekers for Utopia. Beautiful Gallipolis was the sad Mecca for some six hundred duped French in 1790, lured thither by speculators whose prophecies were never realized. Economy, Pennsylvania, hard by the famous trading center of the Canoe Age. Loggstown, was an early settlement of the Harmonists. The river was the route to the Birkbeck-Flower establishment in Illinois. Beside the Ohio was published the first broadside in favor of the Erie Canal; at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, the first anti-slavery sheet in America appeared; in Cincinnati, with "her heart's blood", as she once confided in a friend, Mrs. Stowe wrote "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; at Marietta lived and toiled the hero who penned that marvelously human document, which begins:

> "You would hardly expect one of my age
> To speak in public on the stage."

The part played by the Ohio in the war between the North and South cannot be over-estimated. The campaigns involving its great tributaries, the Tennessee and Cumberland, were vital. A Southerner once said to Horatio Seymour, "The North would never have beaten us if it had not been for our rivers. They ran

from the North into the heart of our country and we could not get away from you." Grant's Cumberland campaigns spelled Appomattox.

The future of the Ohio daunts the boldest dreamer. A little less than a century ago the United States Government began the "improvement" of the river. This meant merely clearing out the more serious obstructions such as half-sunken logs and wrecked boats. At various points rip-rap wing dams were constructed. About fifty years ago larger plans for the maintenance of a steady flow of water throughout the year were developed. One of these was the "canal plan"; longitudinal mounds and cross dams were to be so fashioned as to make a canal on one shore of the river. What was known as Livermore's Plan was a scheme to erect combination dams and chutes, according to a patent taken out by the author. A "reservoir plan" was the solution of Charles Ellet about 1850. By this scheme great reservoirs were to be created on the headwaters of the rivers; these were to be filled in times of abundance and slowly drained in times of famine but rapidly enough to provide, according to the author, eight feet of water in the channel at Wheeling in the dryest seasons.

The first suggestion recommending locks and dams in the usual sense was made in 1870 by W. Milner Roberts. Four years later Major W. E. Merrill, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., recommended the improvement of the river from Wheeling to Pittsburgh by a system of 13 locks and movable dams. In 1875 one hundred thousand dollars was carried in the River and Harbor Act for the building of Lock and Dam No. 1 at the head of Davis Island six miles below Pittsburgh. Locks and dams Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 18 were completed between 1904 and 1910. Nos. 8, 11, 13, and 37 are nearing completion; Nos. 19 and 26 are well advanced and Nos. 7, 9, 10, 12, and 29 are started. The total number of dams between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati will be 37, and between Pittsburgh and Cairo, 54. In adopting the "Lockwood Board" recommendation in the River and Harbor Bill of 1910 Congress enunciated the most important policy ever adopted; it means that the entire river will be given a minimum depth of navigation of 9 feet of water and that, more important still, the appropriation made therein was made with "a view to the

completion of such improvement within a period of 12 years". The expenditures to June 30, 1909, have been, for open river navigation $6,500,000; for lock and dam construction, $11,500,000, and for operating and care of Locks 1 to 6, $785,964.00.

When this great work of internal improvement is completed what Andrew Carnegie has called "The Work-Shop of the World" will see the dawning of the day when the great prophecies made for it will be in the way of realization. The completion of such other great works as the proposed Lake Erie and Ohio River Ship Canal will hasten the day. The shipments of coal will be regular and not dependent on the caprice of the river freshets. A great free avenue of trade on which freight can be carried by the cheapest known methods will certainly redound to the rapid growth of the splendid empire drained by the Ohio and its tributaries, for it should be observed that most of the important Ohio tributaries are already improved with locks and dams. The rate on a ton of coal today from Pittsburgh across Ohio to Ashtabula by rail is as high as the rate from Pittsburgh to New Orleans by boat; and a single giant tow-boat has safely convoyed down the river a fleet of coal barges which would have filled a freight train eleven miles in length. One of the great prophets of the new Era of the Steel Barge, Stanley of Kentucky, lately said:

"There are men within the sound of my voice who can remember the time when Chicago was a hunter's camp upon an untroubled stream and a placid lake. And yet what are the cities of Chicago and St. Louis? They are but the caps and breakers upon that great waves of progress and of power that finds expression in those massive works. Behind the city of Chicago and behind the city of St. Louis are millions of toiling Americans who made those cities great, simply because it was at that point in Missouri and at that point in Illinois where the products of the mines and of the fields could find most ready exchange for the product of the mill. Around you on every side are fields more fertile than those that feed the city of St. Louis or the city of Chicago. Within your hills along this valley is wealth unknown to any citizen of the plain; and citizenship as energetic, as willing, as earnest, and as patriotic. And I tell you that I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but one of the results of this great movement of river improvement will be that along the valley of the Ohio, God's Eden restored, will spring up on this great canal

when it is completed the peer of any city in this or any other country on the reeling earth."

In that day will dawn the beginning of the real era of the Steel Barge. Then the eras of the canoe and keel, of flat-boat and barge and steamer, as once known, will seem but the memories of a bygone millennium. May the ancient, though rough, love of country still survive, the old honesty, the old love for labor — as in the stirring days when the pioneers towed with them down the valley their homes and shops and school-houses.

BIRTHPLACE OF LITTLE TURTLE.

CALVIN YOUNG, GREENVILLE.

The village where Little Turtle was born in 1752 was located on the north tributary of the Eel River, twenty miles northwest of Ft. Wayne, Indiana, in Whitney County. This north tributary is known today as the Blue River Branch, near its junction at Blue Lake, to which it furnished an outlet only a short distance away. It stood on the west side of the river on a high sandy point of land, surrounded on three sides by a great bend in the river. A wide prairie marsh skirted those high lands north and south, but on the east the high banks neared each other, making it an easy ford to the north bank of the lake only a few hundred yards to the eastward. The Blue Lake contained possibly five hundred acres.

Near the foot of the hill, immediate to the south, a fine spring of water bubbled forth underneath the shade of a beautiful grove of barren oak trees. A short distance south of the spring nestling in the middle of the prairie was a small lake containing four or five acres, and so very deep that the water looked a dark blue. It was called by the Indians "Devil's Lake", from the fact that something mysterious had appeared in or near it entirely unknown to Indian lore during a dusky Summer evening, at which the Indians became terribly frightened and ran all the way to Ft. Wayne then a frontier outpost.

Along about 1863, and for a number of years later, the writer has been on this peculiar ancient village site many times, where Little Turtle was born, and which was his home nearly all his life. Along the river banks were Indian trails, worn several inches deep, which not only spoke of primitive, but also of recent times, as it was a flourishing village in 1812, and, possibly, was not entirely deserted until 1846, at which time the Indians were all removed to the West.

It seemed that Nature had provided here with a lavish hand

an ideal home for the red man. The soil was productive for Indian corn, and the writer saw there old Indian fields, red with strawberries in June, wild grapes, wild plums and hazel-nut fields, nearby acorns and wild berries of all kinds in abundance. There were also red deer, wild Turkeys and also rivers and lakes teeming with fish, and over all a scenic beauty that the poet with his pen could not describe, nor the painter with his brush portray. Such was the birthplace and home of Little Turtle, the great Miami chief.

In order to identify exactly this location, as Little Turtle's Village, and if possible to leave no doubt in the mind of the future student of history, I will state here, that this location is just twenty miles northwest of Ft. Wayne, which agrees in distance with the very best authority on the subject now in hand. We refer the reader to the Hand Book of American Indians Bulletin 30 published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, page 771. The personal examination of those grounds and village sites near fifty years ago, and the statement of the early settler at that time when the Indians were still present all corroborate, leaving no room to doubt the correctness of the statements herein made. Moreover the main branch of the Eel river is crossed by the old Indian trail (now the Goshen Road), only eleven miles northwest of Ft. Wayne, consequently could not have been the stream on which this village was located.

Little Turtle's father was a Miami Chief, and his mother a Mohican, hence, according to the Indian rule, he was a Mohican and received no advantage from his father's rank—that it—he was not a chief by descent. However, his talents having attracted the notice of his countrymen, he was made chief of the Miami while a comparatively young man. Little Turtle was the principal leader of the Indian forces that defeated General Harmar on the Miami River in October, 1790, and General Arthur St. Clair on the Wabash November 4th, 1791, and he and Blue Jacket were among the foremost leaders of the Indians in their conflict with General Wayne's army in 1794, although he had urged the Indians to make peace with this "Chief who never sleeps".

After their defeat by the Whites, he joined in the treaty at

Greenville, Ohio, August 3rd, 1795, having arrived at Greenville on the 23rd of June, "I am the last to sign it, and will be the last to break it". Faithful to his promise, he remained passive and counselled peace on the part of his people until his death at Ft. Wayne, July 14, 1812.

At the Greenville Treaty the new Government presented Little Turtle and the other participating Chiefs a beautiful silver medal which was highly prized by the Savages. This medal was a facsimile of the Red Jacket Medal engraved and chased with a change in the date to 1795 and was four by six inches in size. On the obverse side President Washington is represented in uniform, bareheaded, facing to the right and presenting a pipe to an Indian Chief who is smoking it. The Indian is standing and has a large medal suspended from his neck. On the left is a pine tree at the foot of which lies a tomahawk. In the background a farmer is plowing. Below in exeque "George Washington, President, 1795." On the reverse side appear the arms and crest of the United States on the breast of the eagle. In the eagle's right talon is an olive branch; in the left a sheaf of arrows; in its beak the motto "E Pluribus Unum"; above, a glory breaking through the clouds and surrounded by thirteen stars.

Early in 1797, accompanied by Captain Wells, his son-in-law, Little Turtle visited President Washington at Philadelphia, where he met General Kosciusko, the latter presenting him with his own pair of elegantly mounted pistols. Although Tecumseh endeavored to draw him away from his peaceful relations with the Whites, his efforts were in vain. Little Turtle signed the following treaties with the United States: — Greenville, August 3, 1795; Ft. Wayne, June 17, 1803; Vincennes, August 21, 1805; Ft. Wayne, September 30, 1809.

His name was spelled, and also pronounced, different ways, but at the Treaty of Greenville it was spelled Meshekinnoghquoh. He was thirty-nine years old at the time of St. Clair's defeat, and sixty years old at the time of his death. The most diligent search in recent times has failed to locate the place of his burial, consequently, he sleeps in an unknown grave in the vicinity of his former glory at or near Ft. Wayne, Ind.

It has been said that the sun of Indian glory set with him,

and when Little Turtle and Tecumseh passed away the clouds and shadows, which, for two hundred years had gathered around their race, closed in the starless night of death. He was the noblest Roman of them all, for, like Pontiac thirty years before, he was the soul of fire. Everyone who reads the Treaty of Greenville will be impressed with his high courage and the manly stand which he took for his race and the hunting grounds of his Fathers.

RECOLLECTIONS OF NEWARK.

ISAAC SMUCKER.

[Mr. Isaac Smucker was born in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, in 1807 and became a citizen of Newark, Ohio, in 1825, as he relates in the article herewith published. He early became an influential and distinguished personage in his community. In 1837-8 he was a member of the Ohio Legislature and might have held other offices of greater prominence but he preferred the less conspicuous life and the opportunity it gave to indulge in his literary and historical tastes. He wrote much in the lines just mentioned and his writings were accepted by the leading magazines of the country. He was especially interested in the archaeology and history of Ohio and for many years was a member of the Ohio State Archaeological & Historical Society. In 1867 he was the main factor in the organization of the Licking County Pioneer, Historical and Antiquarian Society, before the meetings of which he read many papers and delivered many addresses of great interest and value. The paper herewith published for the first time was read by him before that Society in the year 1868. Mr. Smucker died January 31, 1894. — EDITOR.]

In 1825, which was forty-three years ago, the writer arrived at Newark, after a journey across the Alleghanies, of four hundred miles, performed on foot, which, at that time, was the usual mode of travel with men of very limited funds. Those of more means travelled on horseback, while those most liberally supplied with cash took to the family carriage, or to the public stage.

The then *very* small village of Newark was reached at about nine o'clock at night. It was a very pleasant starlight or moonlight night,—just light enough to indicate to a weary traveller who had safely crossed the ricketty old bridge across the North Fork and reached the western termination of East Main Street, and there taken his position just between the "Cully and Green House" tavern, deliberately viewing the situation from this point of observation, that the "Public Square" was too extensively dotted with ponds of large and small proportions, to render it altogether a safe operation to venture forward without a guide.

Accordingly a dime was invested on a small lad, on the condition that he should safely guide the footsore water-bound traveller along the winding track among the ponds, across the square to the residence of the father of the belated footman, who at that time domiciled at the south west corner of West Main and Fourth streets! Who was that lad?

The most important event to Newark and to Licking County that transpired in the year 1825 was the celebration of the 4th of July, at the "Licking Summit," four miles south of Newark, on the Ohio Canal. An immense throng attended to see Gov. De Witt Clinton of New York throw out the first shovel full of earth, in the construction of the Ohio Canal. Gov. Worthington and numerous celebrities from this and other States were present. The occasion was characterized by an immense display of military toggery, such as brass buttons, cockades, plumes, sashes, epaulettes, and many other fancy trappings that profusely ornamented the outer garments of the military chieftains present. These highly embellished and conspicuously present gentlemen of the "Sword and Pistols" were one of the features of this notable day. There was also a great array of independent military companies, called volunteers, who also appeared in their best uniforms. Gen. Edward King of Chillicothe, and Gen. Sanderson, our very highly esteemed pioneer friend of Lancaster, who, at more than four-score years of age is still living, and whose interesting letter was read at our last meeting, were among the most conspicuous military commanders on that celebrated occasion. Our late friends and fellow citizens, Capts. Merideth Darlington and Willard Warner, the former of Newark, the latter of Granville, commanded the local or home troops on the occasion. This was in the heroic age of Ohio — the age of military glory.

Hon. Thomas Ewing, then in the full enjoyment of his great intellectual powers, was the orator of the day, and, in the judgment of the great crowd who heard him, he acquitted himself splendidly.

Gov. Clinton threw out the first shovel of earth, in the construction of the Ohio Canal, on that interesting occasion. He

had been the projector of the Erie Canal, and had employed his great talents and influence to put the Empire State on the highway to prosperity and wealth by procuring the adoption of a liberal "Internal Improvement Policy." This same policy, sensible and statesmanlike, he urged upon Ohio, and in consequence thereof he became very popular among its friends here; hence the position of honor assigned him. The President of our Society, Hon. William Stanbery, was elected to the Senate of Ohio, and there ably advocated our Canal policy. Gov. Worthington and most of the influential Statesmen of Ohio held the same views.

The next most important event of 1825, was the abortive attempt to hang a fellow by the name of Peter Dimond, a miner at Mary Ann furnace, who had been convicted of the murder of Mitchell, a fellow-ore-digger. This man, while intoxicated and in a fit of passion, struck Mitchell (with whom he was quarreling), a blow with a gun-barrel across the head, from the effects of which he died. The absence of deliberation and premeditation made it a crime of a *lower* grade than murder in the first degree, and he should have been convicted of the *second grade* of homicide. Hon. Thomas Ewing and Wm. Stanbery defended him with great zeal and ability, but he was nevertheless found guilty and sentenced to be hung. The gallows was erected — the grave dug — the coffin made — so was the shroud and the culprit put inside of it — the crowd collected from far and near — the military were marshaled in large numbers to prevent the escape or rescue of Peter, and to give *eclat* to the interesting occasion. The sermon was preached — the doctors were on hand to determine when Dimond's pulse ceased its beatings, by reason of the strangling process — and in short all things were ready to swing the culprit into eternity, when lo! and behold a dashing horseman, came rushing along, crying at the top of his voice that he had a message from the governor of the State of Ohio. This proved to be Isaac Cool, who knew well how to act such a part with a flourish. The commander of the troops cleared the track for him, when he, with due regard to style, passed the document with the great seal of the State of Ohio attached to the sheriff, which proved to be a respite or suspension

of the sentence. This respite resulted at last in a commutation of it to ten years' service for the hero of the day, in the Penitentiary. This respite arrangement of our good old Governor was one that Peter promptly acceded to, much to the disgust of a *well-sold* and *greatly befooled* crowd, who had, at some expense, and to the neglect of their business and crops, at a very busy season of the year, gathered here in great force, from this and all the adjoining counties, to witness the death-agonies of a fellow being on the gallows, *and they could not brook the idea of a disappointment!* This is true only of the more brutal or rabble class of the spectators—the better portion were thrilled with joy at the manner of its termination. *Farce* just then was more to their taste than *tragedy*. This performance came off between Locust and Church Streets and between Third and Fifth Streets. The gallows stood about midway between Church and Locust Streets, on Fourth, or a little east of it. This was the nearest the writer ever came to seeing a man "done for" finally on the scaffold. He offers in mitigation the force of the temptation, by the fact of the erection of the gallows within a few rods of his residence; and he may also be permitted to plead his youth in extenuation of the indiscretion, he being still *"in his teens."*

Dimond's counsel, after the death penalty had been pronounced, prepared and laid before Gov. Morrow, the facts in the case, who saw at once that he had been illegally and unjustly convicted and sentenced; he thereupon decided to give him the proper punishment for his offence, which was one of great enormity, though not the *highest* crime, nor the crime of which he was found guilty. As he had committed a great crime the good Governor thought it best to give him ten years in the State's prison, and in addition to put him through the pangs of *anticipated* throttling, and to keep the terrors of an ignominious death hanging over him to the last moment; *but to stop short of the reality of a death strangling*!

The horse-racing of 1825 was also an event of no small magnitude, in the estimation of many. The race-course was bounded on the North by the southern portion of the town; on the South by the South Fork; on the East by Fourth Street;

and on the West by the Raccoon. An immense crowd of people of all colors, sexes, and condition had collected. They came from adjacent counties, and also from remote parts of the State, as well as from our own county. One main race for sweep-stakes, was run by three horses, named "Ground Hog, Red Fox, and Prairie Mule." The first-named was a large grey horse, owned in Muskingum, I believe, and was the winner. The "Red Fox" was a small sorrel horse, and came in second best; and the "Prairie Mule," owned, I think, in Lancaster, was a small brown animal of nearly the same speed of the "Red Fox." The race was a mile, or perhaps more, to be repeated. Many other races were also run, generally for a short distance only and for small stakes. The accompaniments were a large consumption of whiskey and similar fluids — an overloading of many stomachs with Bentley's ginger-cakes — a considerable number of fisticuffs — much excitement, quarreling and profanity — extensive thimble-rigging and sweatcloth gambling — pocket-picking and stealing—grandmother's and other tricks played off on the *very* green ones; and various other grovelling and villainous practices that were intensely disgusting.

The writer's youth and verdancy, and a prurient but hitherto ungratified curiosity, are all the extenuating circumstances he has to offer for putting himself in a position to witness, in this single instance, some of the evils and demoralizations growing out of and accompanying horse-racing. The writer does not propose any exposition of the Justinian code, nor of the code Napoleon, nor of more modern and better understood codes, in their bearings, if they have any, upon horse-racing; neither does he contemplate a homily founded on the Mosaic and Christian codes, upon the subject, but he submits the single remark that his very limited horse-racing experience led him to the conviction that the law of conscience, indelibly written by an unerring hand, forbids it as a practice that works out much more evil than good — a practice not demanded by utility, nor justified by morality.

The races of 1825 were the first I attended—and they were the last, too. Forty-three years is a long time between horse-races — but not too long.

In a few days after my arrival here in 1825 I attended a camp meeting held in Franklin Township, not far from the large Stone Mound, some eight miles from Newark. The meeting was held in a pleasant and somewhat romantic locality — near the western termination of the Flint Ridge. The weather was delightful — the preaching was good, and the surroundings and incidents of the meeting had a flavor of freshness and novelty about them that rendered the occasion one decidedly enjoyable. A slender, tall, erect, long-visaged, grave old man, with elongated hair that had passed into the last stage of the silver-grey hue, occupied himself conspicuously as the chief singer of the occasion — the venerable leader in the musical department of the devotional exercises. His name was Siglar, I understood, and he sung with spirit, energy, and much power of voice. The great congregation joined him, and they made the welkin ring sonorously, while singing those fine old Methodist Camp Meeting hymns. The multitudes gathered for worship from all the regions round about in those ancient groves, were greatly moved, yes, were *thrilled* by the inspiring notes of the melodious minstrelsy. The reverberations of those sacred songs, as sung by a thousand voices, in the spirited, natural, unartistic style of our primitive settlers in those "grand old woods," gave zest to the enjoyment of the interesting occasion, and the scenes and incidents thereof are numbered among the memories to be cherished in the *hereafter*!

Rev. Zerah H. Coston was the only preacher present whose name I now remember. I had heard him preach a sermon a short time before, in front of the old jail, for the benefit of Peter Dimond, then under sentence of death. I think, however, that Judge Fidlar, whom I had heard perform a similar service for Dimond, was also present, though I am not certain. This was my first appearance at a Methodist Camp Meeting, *but not my last.* I attended one held near Chatham, nearly forty years ago, where I heard Rev. L. L. Hamline preach his celebrated sermon from the text, "Ye are my witnesses saith the Lord." I heard him preach it once before, *and it was worth repeating.* Few men had a more attractive style of pulpit oratory than he. I also attended one on the Flint Ridge, more than thirty-five

years ago, conducted by our well-known pioneer veteran, the Rev. C. Springer; and another a few years later held near Elizabethtown, under the same management, at both of which we had interesting preaching. My last Camp Meeting experience was near Frazeysburg, during the last summer, where I heard two very able sermons delivered by Revs. Philips of Zanesville and Felton of Columbus. I confess to a partiality, by way of variety, for the old style camp meeting oratory — to a strong liking to the *pulpit in the Wilderness,* as we had it in "days of auld lang syne."

I close my recollections of 1825 by a brief reference to the election of that year. When I arrived in Newark a vigorous contest was going on for a seat in the State Legislature between Bradley Buckingham and Stephen C. Smith. The *Newark-Advocate,* edited by the late Benjamin Briggs, Esq., then the only paper printed in Licking county, was full of spirited communications on this subject, pro and con. Henry Shurtz was fighting Mr. Buckingham vigorously, charging him in the *Advocate* with getting some advantage of him in a whiskey trade. Be it remembered here that whiskey was at that time an article of extensive trade and commerce — indeed it came very near being a legal tender in payment of debts.

Mr. Buckingham was a prosperous, wealthy merchant of Newark, and known to almost everybody in the county. He came to Newark at an early day, and had kept himself in communication with the people constantly by his extensive business operations, and to a limited extent, as a public officer. He was of good reputation and excellent character, and was withal a gentleman of rather pleasant, popular manners.

Mr. Smith was a more recent settler in Licking. He came originally from New Jersey to Marietta in 1806 and from there in the year 1809 to Muskingum county, where he was several times honored with elections to the Legislature and to the Associate Judgeship of their Court of Common Pleas. He had moreover been actively patriotic during the war of 1812, having rendered efficient services as adjutant of the regiment commanded by the late Lewis Cass. He came to Licking county in 1818 and was a member of the Legislature in 1824. He was a man of

liberal mental endowments and extensive reading and information. He had one of the best libraries in our county, and we had few men of more extensive intelligence on a great variety of subjects, as I afterwards ascertained on becoming well acquainted with him. He was a man without reproach and lived and died an honest man.

Mr. Buckingham was the successful candidate, but by a very small majority, ten votes, I think. The next year they were again competitors, when Mr. Smith was successful by a meagre majority. Messrs. Buckingham and Smith retired upon their legislative careers — the former in 1826 and the latter in 1827 — neither of them again holding any public office.

A VISIT TO FORT ANCIENT.

FELIX J. KOCH, CINCINNATI.

[For some two weeks in the Summer of 1910, a portion of the Ohio National Guard encamped at Fort Ancient, and during their evolutions enacted a sham siege of the Fort. This interesting incident led to many comments in the newspapers concerning the modern military movements in the fortress that doubtless witnessed scenes of barbarian warfare centuries ago. In an article brought out by the incident above mentioned Mr. Felix J. Koch, the distinguished magazine and newspaper writer, speaks as follows concerning Fort Ancient. — E. O. R.]

A little matter of two thousand years, more or less, is of no concern when history takes it into her head to repeat herself; and so, while it was at perhaps the time that the Egyptians were setting up the Pyramids, that here in the Western Hemisphere, the Mound-builders were waging bloody warfare at Ft. Ancient, where they had their largest fortress; today the Ohio National Guard have selected the same place as seat of their encampment and maneuvers. So history is repeating herself at Ft. Ancient; though the manner of the war of today and of that other day is a trifle different.

A little jaunt to Ft. Ancient is one of the most delightful outings in the world, — notably in the autumn or the early springtime. The quickest way is by rail to Ft. Ancient Station, from Cincinnati; or else, if one have an eye to scenery, *via* Morrow, and then drive over-land.

En route, you look up data about the fortress, — or you may procure a little guide on the grounds. Modern Ft. Ancient is just a sleepy river hamlet, a town of a tavern, before which gather village-wise acres, to concern themselves rather with the corn-crop and the pumpkin harvest and the sums made from summer campers on the Miami, than with the discussion of matters aboriginal. Still, there is a surfeit of literature on Ft. Ancient. Away back in 1809, the reports go, — mention was made of the Fort.

Since then, as explorations were made, there has been much else. All in all, some 628,000 cubic yards of excavation have been accomplished on the fortress, — and as a result, it stands now almost as in primitive times.

The earth-works follow the edge of a plateau, approaching within a quarter mile of the Little Miami at its eastern extremity, where it is nineteen feet higher than on the western edge. The hills come within two hundred and ninety and three hundred feet of each other, — above the pocket in which the fort reposes, just allowing sufficient space for river and rail to pass, and, not alone that, but the plateau stands almost three hundred feet above low water. It is, therefore, evident that the fort was well nigh impregnable.

The embankments making up Ft. Ancient seem to have been made to form several distinct divisions. There is, first, the new fort, — lying north of a narrow isthmus; the great gate-way, dividing the mounds at the south end of that passage; and the crescent gate, formed by the wing-walls, and the middle fort — and area enclosed by a sickle-shaped gateway. The total distance around these earth-works is not less than 18,712 feet, although a bee-line, from the east end to the west measures just 993.

Statistics, however, are both tiring and non-communicative.

You ride from the village up a steep hill, — through the forest, — to the knoll on which stands the fort. An osage-hedge has been set around the place, — bearing the simple words, *"Ft. Ancient"*. You take a path leading down through a well-defined system of mounds, — dotted over with ancient beech trees. Beyond, the meadow gives place to denser forest, and in this all attempt at tracing the plan of the mounds seems futile. They wind and turn and writhe and twist beyond following by any save the antiquarian. Sight-seers, for the most part, here, are picnickers,—and for their benefit, the Ohio Historical and Archaeological Society has erected a frame shelter-house among the mounds, *"For use; not abuse!"*. This very forest seems hedged in with primitive walls, following the line of ravines and separating it from pasture-lands beyond.

One wonders the purpose of all these earth-works. None

is better fitted to speak on this subject than he who explored them best, — Prof. Moorehead, of Saranac Lake.

"Ft. Ancient", he says, "is considered to have been erected for purely defensive purposes and not as having been used for residence for any great length of time. Its connection with the Scioto Valley earth-works is to be doubted, and it seems to occupy a rather isolated position. I have always therefore thought that the village-folk of ancient Madisonville, and those of other sites along the Little Miami, used the fort as a common rendezvous. Possibly they came from as far as Aurora, Indiana. Alexandersville, Foster's, Milford, southern Brown county, and the mouth of the Great Miami, at all of which places there were earth-works. The fort is believed to have been erected by the Short-head or southern people."

Who were these people? Whence did they come? Whither have they gone? It is the interesting riddle of Ohio.

Centuries, — aeons, — ago, we know, the ice-lake occupied what is now this fertile vale. Still, no gravel pits or other glacial evidence has been produced on the other side of the Miami, and it is strange, indeed, that the glaciers should have stopped just here. The lime-stone all about is exceptionally rich in fossil crinoids and trilobites.

How long after the ice melted, and the rivers flowed was it before the Red Man put in his appearance? Came he from the north-ward, as so many think; having crossed over Behring Strait, — out of Asia; where mounds such as that one near Peebles are found? Or, was he of indigenous or even southern origin?

There are those who hold man to have originated in North America. Simple is this theory, — that he crossed to Asia, and then Africa and Europe. Much simpler than that from Asia he should have gone both east and west, and still left no record of his passage.

At any rate, — this earlyman was a worker. Possibly that is why he settled in Ohio, a State noted for industry. Let some of the early registrars tell of these labors at Ft. Ancient.

It took two skilled surveyors and a gang of laborers, six weeks to complete surveys made here for the State. What did

they find, — or rather not find? There was a moat, — extending south-west from the two mounds to the left of the fort walls, — which remains of pottery and bones make it probable, was lined with wig-wams, from which refuse was thrown into the moat. Then there are bastions, — some with a breadth of base of seventy feet and a height of just ninety, and there are but tresses of lime stone, the boulders in these of fifteen or sixteen pounds weight. Three parallel walls within the fort, we are told, have a length of over 2,700 feet, and there is a three-walled platform close beside, that measures 85 by 110 by 150 feet.

Think of the labor involved in making such a bastion, even today. And these artisans had nothing but their hands, and the primitive tools found in the mounds.

One admires them the more one inspects it. Five and three quarter miles of terraces, ten and 17-52 miles of earth-works in all. — Could they be set in line! All built to last through ages, — built to survive, as none of our structures of the present will! A single protective gate-way here is constructed of forty pound rocks, and affords a three-mile perspective.

The finds inside the fort are scarcely less interesting. Graves, there, were lined with lime-stone and set at a distance of about two feet and a half from the surface. Skeletons had an average length of five feet six, — and these were seldom buried alone. Implements of pottery and flint accompanied the bodies very largely. There were mica-disks and fish-scales, pottery and celts, and while there were some flint knives, the nature of the tools was such as to lead archaeologists to believe that but little cereal food was consumed, and that these mound-builders were practically cannibals. The bones of seventeen different animals have been discovered so far. Some of these lie so near the surface as to seem to indicate burials, after a sudden and decisive battle.

Then for perhaps five feet, there are no remains. After that, the ruins of a second, more ancient village are evident.

Every visitor to Ft. Ancient has his theory. Some find in the outline of the fort a tracing of the American continent. Others, founding their theories on *Esdrac,* put this people down

as the tribe expelled from Assyria. Still others would have them to be maroons from the ships of King Solomon, when on the three year cruises. And still others would make of them Japanese sent by adverse currents to this land. As to their fate, some would believe them simply the ancestors of our Indians. Whether this be so or not, — who knows? Only the mounds, — and they keep the secrets locked within their leafy bosoms.

PIPE'S CLIFF.

A. J. BAUGHMAN, MANSFIELD.

Pipe's Cliff is the highest point of a ledge of fragmentary rocks that for a mile or more skirt Pleasant Run Valley on the north, nine miles southeast of Mansfield, Richland county, Ohio. The cliff is named for Captain Pipe, a chief of the Monsey branch of the Delaware Indian tribe. Captain Pipe's home was at Jeromeville, on the Jerome Fork of the Mohican from 1795 to 1812 — the period between the signing of the treaty of Greenville and the war of 1812. He was last seen in these parts at the great feast at Greentown, in 1811. The meaning of that feast was not explained to the white settlers, but is now understood to have portended the war of 1812, which soon followed.

PIPE'S CLIFF.

The way Pipe's Cliff got its name was as follows: Round Head, an Indian warrior, married Onalaska, a sister of Captain Pipe. He, with his wife and child, were fleeing in 1781, from the Coshocton to the Sandusky country, and had encamped upon the high ledge of rocks, the highest of which is known in history as Pipe's Cliff. In pursuit of this party of Indians was a squad of troops belonging to Colonel Broadhead's expedition against the Indian villages of the forks of the Muskingum, known in history as the "Coshocton campaign." The Indians seeing the troops coming up the valley fired upon them, and the troops

returned volley for volley, and although they could not see the party in ambush on account of the thick foliage, they fired at the place from which the smoke issued. Tradition says that Onalaska, with her pappoose in her arms, received a ball in her breast and fell dead at the foot of the cliff. It is said that Captain Pipe made frequent visits to this cliff where his sister had met such a tragic death — hence the name Pipe's Cliff.

Pipe's Cliff has an elevation of over a hundred feet above the valley, of which it commands a fine view. Around the base and along the sides of this ledge of rocks are caves and caverns, whose depths and length have never been explored.

THE CINCINNATI MUNICIPAL ELECTION OF 1828.

MARY BAKER FURNESS, CINCINNATI.

Cincinnati began its existence as a city under its first charter, March 1, 1819. By an act of the General Assembly passed January 26, 1827, a new charter was granted, which superseded the old one, and did away with all the legislation which had been enacted under it. According to this second charter, the city boundaries began with the "Ohio River, at the east corner of partial section No. 12, running west with the township line of Cincinnati to Mill Creek, then down Mill Creek with its meanders to the Ohio River, then eastwardly up said river with the southern boundary of the State of Ohio, to the place of beginning." The city area was coterminous with that of the township of Cincinnati. The northern boundary, as nearly as I can determine, was the line of Liberty Street extended to the Ohio on the east. The chief municipal officers under the second charter were, the mayor, elected biennially, and three trustees from each ward, who formed the council. The city was divided into four wards by two lines crossing at right angles, Third Street running east and west, Main Street running north and south. The First Ward was in the northeast, the Second in the northwest, the Third in the southeast and the Fourth in the southwest. March 2, 1827, by virtue of powers vested in them by the charter the council divided the Second Ward by an east and west line from Main Street along Sixth to the corporation line. That portion north of Sixth and west of Main was the Fifth Ward. On March 21, 1827, the boundaries of the Third and First Ward were changed, by an east and west line, which "began on Main at the intersection of Third, and ran eastwardly along the center of Third to Ludlow, thence eastwardly along the center of Symmes to High, and along the center of High to a point on the street bearing north 16° from the center of the cupola of David Kilgour's house near the reservoir, and by the

same line north 19 east° east to the north boundary of the city." The First Ward received the part lying south of Symmes Street and of the range of hills east of Deer Creek Bridge. Symmes and High Streets are now both parts of Third Street east of Broadway. With Mr. Greve we wonder what would have happened if any accident had befallen Mr. Kilgour's cupola.[1]

The mayor, Isaac G. Burnet, had been elected in 1827, so the municipal election of 1828 concerned itself with the three trustees from each ward, and with three township trustees. These latter were elected at the same time as the city officers, but separately from them, though their jurisdiction was over practically the same territory. March 26, Mayor Burnet published the first proclamation for the election in the *Cincinnati Gazette,* and in the *National Republican,* rival newspapers.

"PROCLAMATION.

"Notice is hereby given that an election will be held on Monday, the 7th day of April next, in each of the wards in this city, for trustees to represent each ward in the City Council for the ensuing year, to-wit: in the first ward, at the mayor's office on Third street; in the second ward, at the brick house, corner of Walnut and Fifth streets; in the third ward, at Hazen Swazey's house on Sycamore street; in the fourth ward, at the office of Richard Mulford, esq., on Water street; and in the fifth ward, at the house of Edward Dodson on the corner of Walnut and Sixth streets. Given under my hand at the City of Cincinnati this 22nd day of March, eighteen hundred and twenty-eight.

"ISAAC G. BURNET, *Mayor.*"

This notice was repeated at intervals during the weeks which elapsed before the election.[2] The list of polling places is interesting. Aside from the mayor's office, and that of Mr. Mulford they seem to have been private dwelling houses, which would indicate that the northern and eastern portions of the city were largely residential. Unfortunately there is no directory for 1828. That for 1825, and the one for 1829, do not mention Hazen Swazey at all. Mr. Mulford in 1825 is listed as constable and collector, in 1829 as magistrate. Edward Dodson is described as "grocer and hay weigher" in 1825, and his only address is the corner of Walnut and Sixth, so we may infer that his home and his business were on the same premises. In the

directory of 1829 no business at all is given for him. Whether the voting was carried on in his shop, or in his house we have no means of knowing, nor what sort of people lived in the brick house on the corner of Walnut and Fifth Streets. Even so, voting should have been a very respectable business in the days when it was done at Hazen Swazey's house, or Edward Dodson's grocery, instead of in a barber shop.

Before 1828 there had been no regular party lists of candidates nominated for state or county or city offices. But late in 1827, the Jackson and Anti-Jackson feeling, which had filled the newspapers constantly from the time of Jackson's defeat by John Quincy Adams in 1824, took visible shape in Ohio in the call to two conventions, which were held in Columbus Dec. 28, 1827, and Jan. 9, 1828. The purpose of the first one was to form an electoral ticket for the coming presidential election, Oct. 31, 1828, which should support John Quincy Adams.[3] The second was designed to perform the same office for Andrew Jackson.[4] The convention idea found immediate favor, as it always has done in American political life, and when the time for the state elections for governor and representatives, together with the other state and county offices drew near Hamilton County held a nominating convention of the friends of the Administration, in August, a thing which the Jackson men had already done a month before.[5] This election was not held till October, however, and meanwhile, the same plan in embryo, had been tried out in the April election for trustees. Heretofore, candidates had been presented in somewhat straggling fashion. The name of some popular or worthy citizen was suggested in a communication to the papers by a friend or by a number of citizens, as a fit candidate for the suffrages of his peers. Sometimes a line or two announced his candidacy impersonally, sometimes he announced it himself. There does not seem to have been any especially concerted action of the convention type, certainly there was little or no party line drawn. A study of the files of the old papers makes this point evident with regard to local elections. At this time, however, with party feeling already running high, the Jackson men forestalled their

opponents by a tentative city convention. On the 26th of February they held meetings in every ward in the city, to consider the subject of the approaching election, and they named a ward ticket for each one. The notice in the *Republican* reads as follows:

"REPUBLICAN JACKSON MEETING.

"The friends of Jackson and Republicans will hold an adjourned meeting at Rial's Tavern, sign of the Cross Keys, near the Western Market, on next Thursday evening, Feb. 28. An address will be delivered by a friend to the cause.

"By order

"CHAS. KRAMER, *Sec'y.:* JONATHAN PANCRAST, *Ch'man.*

"The Jacksonians of the first ward will meet on *This Evening* at the Council Chamber; of the second, at Talbott's school rooms; of the third, at Kautz's Tavern; of the fourth, at Gilbreath's Tavern; of the fifth, at Hulse's Tavern, to appoint delegates to a convention to nominate candidates for the ensuing Spring and Summer elections.

"Feb. 26."

There is no report of this convention, however, and the ticket was not made public at the time. The real facts in this case were not found out till March 6, when Charles Hammond, editor of the *Gazette,* and implacable foe of all Jacksonians, announced his discovery of them in that issue of the *Gazette,* and declaring that the gauntlet had been thrown down, challenged the enemy to publish the list, "that it might not be said hereafter, that the election was not made a test of the strength of the two parties." Later, the editor of the *Advertizer* admitted the truth of Mr. Hammond's statement, but declined to give the names of the candidates. He accused the Administration party of beginning the controversy, alleging that a party circular of John C. Wright's, which had been of little real importance, had opened the way.[7]

The official ticket, by the way, never was printed in the *Gazette* until the report of the election when both tickets were given in full, with the returns.[8] The *Republican* gave an unofficial list, March 21, and repeated it in its advertising columns several times afterward until the day of the election. The complete Administration list was given a week earlier, on April 2.

Some of the names are interesting today. Bellamy Storer, for instance, was an Administration candidate from the Third Ward, (south of Third and east of Main). Nathan Guilford represented the Second Ward, (north of Third, and west of Main). Benjamin Hopkins was township trustee, and Dennis Kelley stood on the Jackson ticket for the Fifth Ward in the extreme northwest corner of the city, the newest of them all. The names of the constables were not on the tickets, for their election was not made a party matter. The names of two of the candidates for that office are presented after the old fashion.

"We are personally acquainted with Mr. Joseph White, who lives on Walnut street opposite the college, and are desirous that he should be brought out as a candidate for the office of Constable for the township of Cincinnati at the approaching election for township offices. We consider him as capable, honest, perseveringly industrious, and in every respect qualified to discharge the duties required of a constable, and believe he will perform them if elected, and we recommend him to the consideration of the electors.

"MANY VOTERS."

"Cin., March 12, 1828.

"We are authorized to state that Samuel W. Forsha is a candidate for constable at the ensuing election."[10]

This same notice appears in the *Republican* of March 8. I am sorry to have to state that neither one of these gentlemen was elected.

After the concerted action of the Jackson party had come to light, the friends of the Administration in each ward, held meetings in various places, at which their tickets were nominated. The Fourth Ward was something of a storm center apparently, like our historic Eighth, and the party managers had led off there with a notice for an Administration meeting to be held at the tavern of Thomas J. Matthews, Saturday evening, Feb. 2. It is dated Jan. 31, and published Feb. 1 and 2, but there is no report of the result.[11] As the purpose of the meeting is not stated, we cannot be sure whether it concerned the city, or the state, or the presidential elections. The Second Ward followed on March 10, and their ticket was duly reported in the *Gazette* for March 12. The First Ward held its meeting at the Council

Chamber the 14th, reported on the 18th. The Fifth Ward is reported March 22. The Third Ward met, on public notice, at the Woolen Factory——Deer Creek Bridge, April 4. There is no description given of these meetings, nothing but the bare announcement of the results. The candidates are all "unanimously agreed upon." The First Ward meeting is reported as a "Numerous Meeting of Citizens," and the Third, as a "Meeting of General Electors." But there was no general notice published for their call, and each ward seems to have had its individual assembly. Except that the candidates themselves were nominated by the whole body of electors in person,—not simply delegates who should nominate them, these meetings resemble the modern primary elections. They were not held at any one fixed time, but at irregular intervals for a period of every three weeks. In this respect, the Jackson forces had the work systematized to a greater degree, for their meetings were all held on the one evening, at the call of a single chairman, showing a much better sense of party organization.

The *Gazette* made the statement that some of the Jackson men nominated, declined to serve upon that ticket. There is no evidence of it, however. One of the men nominated for trustee in Mill Creek Township, James C. Ludlow, did address a communication to the *Gazette*, in which he said, First, that he was not willing to aid in a party election. Second, that he was not willing to serve at all. Third, that he was not willing to support Jackson, and therefore, he was not a candidate.[12] There may have been some other Jacksonians as courageous in Cincinnati, but they did not make themselves known in the public prints.

With the tickets formed, and the election only two weeks off, the campaign had to be carried on with some rapidity. Each ward held Administration meetings up to April 4, three days before the election. These meetings were, in a sense, a part of the long series which had begun in January after the Columbus convention and which lasted until after the presidential election in October. The first notice of one was given January 21[13] and others appeared at intervals throughout the entire year. The First Ward meetings were held at the City Council Chamber on Third Street, as were also three of the Third Ward. The

Second met at Talbert's (Talbott's) School Rooms on Fifth Street between Vine and Race. The Fourth convened at Thomas J. Matthews's Tavern, or Green Tree Hotel, on Fourth Street. The Fifth met at the Cross Keys Tavern on Sixth Street. All these were strictly Administration meetings. Two other groups, "The Young Men Friendly to the Administration," and the "Friends of the Administration" met, the one at the College Chapel, or the Council Chamber, the other at the Council Chamber. Their notices were usually headed "Measures not Men." The hours of meeting varied from "6:30" on March 22, in the Third Ward, to "7:30." Occasionally it was "early candle-light," that delightfully indeterminate hour, but usually it was at "7 o'clock," a very convenient time for the men who got home to tea at six, and were ready to settle themselves for the evening by seven.

On the part of the Jacksonians, the same sense of order and system which had characterized their first move, was evident in their second. March 25, this notice appeared in the *Republican*:

"MEASURES *AND* MEN.

"At an adjourned meeting of the friends of General Jackson, it was recommended by resolution that the Jacksonians of this city be requested to meet in their respective wards once in each week until the ensuing election. In the 2nd ward, on Monday evening, at David Sargeant's; 4th ward, on Tuesday evening, at John Sherlock's; 5th ward, on Wednesday evening, at Keals' (sic) Tavern, sign of Cross Keys; 1st ward, on Thursday evening, at the Council Chamber; 3rd ward, on Friday evening, at Marine Hotel. A general meeting will be held on Saturday evening, 29th inst, at Council Chamber. Punctual attendance is requested.

"By order

"JONATHAN PANCRAST, *Ch'mn.*

"CHAS. KRAMER, *Sec'y.*
"Cin., March 21st, 1828."

There is no denying the advantage of regularity in time and place of holding meetings. The fixed schedule of the Jacksonians was more business like than the Administration plan of calling each meeting by special public notice, at irregular intervals. It is interesting to notice that the Administration meetings were

all held in public places. The Jackson men also chose the same kind of rooms, except in the Second and Fourth Wards. According to the directory of 1825, David Sargeant was a brick maker, and John Sherlock a distiller. Neither man is found in the directory of 1829.

There are no detailed accounts of what was done at any of these meetings. The one issue was the all-absorbing political topic of the time, "Is a candidate a Jackson or an Anti-Jackson man?" Local issues are never even touched on by either newspaper. The personal fitness of the candidates is never hinted at. The columns of the *Gazette* are full of invective against Jackson and his supporters, and indications of the Administration and its friends, together with the most virulent abuse of the editors of the rival papers. The *Republican* devotes column after column to the misdemeanors of Clay and Adams, and finds no language vile enough to characterize Mr. Hammond of the *Gazette*. Every question which might in any way pertain to the welfare or the advantage of the city is utterly ignored. It is only a stray illusion here and there, or an advertisement of a ward meeting which gives any clew whatever, to the fact that a municipal election is close at hand. The Second Ward does announce that its meetings (Administration) March 3 and 10, are for such measures as may be necessary for the approaching city and township elections.[14]

At the second one, March 10, a list of trustees was nominated. Ten days later the Second Ward again advertised a meeting to make arrangements for the spring election.[15] But there is no report of the proceedings. Ten days or so before the election the Fifth Ward at a "well attended" meeting appointed a Vigilance Committee at the polls, consisting of twenty-five men.[16] But the Jacksonians of the First Ward in a meeting on March 27, also appointed a Vigilance Committee of twenty-five members. This report with the list of names, dated March 29, is published in the *Republican* of April 1. Aside from these few facts, there is little to be gathered concerning the proceedings of a political ward meeting of 1828.

The truth of the matter is, that all other issues were completely destroyed in the fierce heat of the presidential struggle.

The story of that four years' battle is perfectly familiar to every student of history, yet it is difficult to realize how far-reaching was the bitterness, how wide-spread the influence, into what unexpected channels the political venom flowed. It was not the first time that party spirit had run high, but it seems to have been the first time that it entered into the field of a local election in this little city, which cast the largest vote in its history, 3500,[17] Oct. 31, 1828. It makes no difference which party began it, though its superior organization would seem to indicate that the Jacksonians had made their plans and perfected them before their opponents guessed what they were about. It is most important that in thus drawing the line in the election for councilmen, the party question entered for all times into the local politics of the city. The fact that there is nothing said of local questions, that the emphasis is placed on those of the national campaign, which, by the way, is one of the most disgraceful in the matter of vile personalities in all our history as a republic, shows of how little value these questions of local interests were considered, in comparison with that of electing Jackson or Adams to the presidency. Occasionally there was a newspaper article, as, for instance, one contributed by "B" on fraudulent voting, calling attention to the fact that many men were accustomed to cast the ballot who were not entitled to vote.[18] We have seen history repeat itself in a later day. Such articles, however, are rare. Communications were more apt to be scandalous in tone, as when a rumor is reported that the Jackson Committee has appropriated the unexpended balance of $100 in the treasury of the old Tammany Society of Cincinnati.[19] Such pleasant little remarks as these neither harm the subject of them nor benefit the author, as a general rule. Mr. Hammond of the *Gazette* had a brutally keen wit himself, and his weapon was the more dangerous because he had no scruples in using it. He had a deadly skill in comment, and one of his delights was to quote his adversary in full, and then flay him with a few words, or if the occasion warranted, in a column editorial. In one paper he quotes certain phrases from the *Republican*: "Subsidized Persons, Foul Calumnies, Base Forgeries, Infamous Handbill, Flagitious Villainy, Daring Falsehood, and so on,"

and remarks at the end of the long list, "How comfortable a gentleman must feel when applying such terms to those with whom he partakes every day of the various enjoyments of social intercourse."[20] In giving an account of the Jackson Day banquet in Columbia Township, he repeats one of the toasts, "The Constitution of the United States—perfectly secure with Jackson at the Helm, and a life guard composed of such men as Branch, Eaton, Randolph, Benton, and MacDuffie." Each one of this life guard receives in time his little tribute in Mr. Hammond's customary style. "Branch," he says, "made the famous speech against Clay; Eaton is the enemy of the tariff; Randolph attempted to pull down every administration formed; Benton was distinguished for his violent quarrel with Jackson; MacDuffie was distinguished principally for lutestring and cologne water. All were opposed to the American System, and would prove an excellent and appropriate lifeguard for the Hero."[21] His pet expression for his editorial friend on the Jackson side is "The Old Gentleman of the *Advertizer*." He scarcely ever speaks of him or to him in any other than a slurring and sneering way. Outside the editorial office, they were said to be very good friends. Beside him, the editor of the *Republican* cuts a sorry figure, for he was no match for Mr. Hammond in nimbleness of wit. His only weapon was the bludgeon of personal abuse, a very poor one indeed, with which to oppose the cutting blows of his adversary, who with an equally scurrilous tongue, possessed, in addition, a surpassingly brilliant mind.

Perhaps the most popular method of conducting a political campaign in the earlier days was by means of handbills. They figure largely in all elections from the very first ones mentioned, and even into the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In using this method of keeping their candidates and principles constantly before the electoral eye, neither party proved itself slothful nor stupid. The Jacksonians issued one bulletin exhorting their fellows to union, activity and subordination. "Vote the Jackson ticket, the whole Jackson ticket, and nothing but the Jackson ticket." Which the *Gazette,* somewhat unreasonably, took exception to, the day after the election.[22] They also took

the precaution to distribute handbills, the morning of the election, to this effect:

"ATTENTION, ELECTORS.

"The Poll for Township officers opens at 6 o'clock a. m. and closes at 6 o'clock p. m.

"The Poll for City officers opens at 9 o'clock a. m. and closes at 4 o'clock p. m.

"Remember the test announced by C. Hammond and Co., and lose not your vote by inattention to the hours of election."

Which Mr. Hammond also took very ill, and denounced as a vile Jacksonian *Advertizer* trick.[23] The gem of all the handbills, however, was the so-called "Coffin Handbill,"—the "Infamous Handbill," the Jacksonians always termed it. There is a remarkably full and definite description of it in the *Gazette* of March 28. The complete explanation of each of its various points was given at intervals all through the earlier issues of the paper, with frantic denials in the *Republican* of every point as it was presented.

Across the top there were six coffins, for the six militia men who had been shot by Jackson's orders for desertion during the war of 1812. The name of each victim was on the coffins with a brief account of their sufferings and the accusation against them. Next below were seven coffins, for the seven regulars who had been shot at Nashville. They were killed one and even two at a time, because of the lack of soldiers to execute them. Next below there were four coffins for the Indians, decoyed by false signals during the Seminole War, and put to death by Jackson without the form of a trial. Below them was one coffin for John Wood, a "friendless boy," shot for alleged mutiny in Tennessee in 1814. Under all this is the meeting of Jackson and Samuel Jackson with the general stabbing Samuel as he falls after the duel, followed by Benton's account of the affray at Nashville, 1815, between General Jackson and two or three of his followers, and the two Bentons. With the coarse printing and such wood cuts of the day, it is not to be wondered at, that the Jacksonians regarded these handbills with rabid hatred

and poured out the vials of their wrath upon the author. Unfortunately he was not known, but he had certainly brought out some good campaign material,—very effective for the times, and disseminated east and west, north and south, regardless of section. It was scored by Jackson and his followers as the work of Clay,—a document issuing from the hand of Adams, Clay and Webster, and it was openly alleged that it came from presses controlled by Clay, if not owned by him.[24] Had the campaign been less vitriolic and unrestrained in its expressions of abuse, probably the coffin handbills might never have produced any effect. Even as it was, they were only one instance among many of equally uncontrolled violence.

When the election returns came in, it was found that four out of the five wards were carried for the Administration. The recalcitrant Fourth Ward had brought in the Jackson candidates. Consequently twelve out of the fifteen members of the council were Administration men. The *Gazette* claimed it as complete victory for the Administration. The majorities ran about equal, averaging 180 for the ticket. The majorities in the Fourth Ward were about the same as for their opponents. The three constables had been elected without opposition. The two old ones were Jacksonians, but had been generally supported by the Administration party, as tried and efficient officers.[25] The votes, on the whole, were given because of confidence in local men, and personal attachment to them. There was some scratching done, probably in consequence of this. "There was not a single Jackson man, indeed," said the *Gazette,* "who voted his whole Administration ticket. In the First Ward, Jonathan Pancrast electioneered all day for Mr. Hopkins, an Administration man, but associated with him, two Jackson candidates." These were for township trustees. Administration men, on the other hand, voted for Benjamin Mason for township trustee, but added two Administration candidates. This is the only action of the kind, reported from any of the five wards.[26] Evidently these gentlemen were not very particular as to the secrecy of their ballot, if there was a secret ballot at the time, of which fact we are uncertain, but which was most probably not the case.

"The test in regard to Council and Township Trustees,"

said Mr. Hammond, "was fully made. It was announced in newspapers friendly to the interests, and reiterated in handbills and public meetings."[27] "Operations commenced in the winter, meeting after meeting was held. Leading men perambulated the city, stirring up their forces, and proclaiming the 'test.'"[28] "In spite of all their work, the electoral vote is safe for Adams,"[29] he confidently asserts after the returns are all in. Yet there was hardly breathing time before the summons came to the next fray, the state and congressional elections, whose results proved that Mr. Hammond was better as a political warrior, than as a political prophet.

"The real facts are," said the *Republican* editor, making the usual accusation of grossest misrepresentation and falsehood, "that a majority of both parties was in favor of making this election a test of the strength of Jackson and Adams in this city; * * * a small minority of both was against it. Meetings were held by both, with a view to produce unanimity, but it was not effective with the Jackson supporters. They did not attend the polls, and many who did voted for the Administration ticket either in whole or in part." He considers that the leaders of the "Aristocracy' were unusually active, and had obtained control of the city government for the current year. "The manner in which they have misrepresented the cause, and their falsehood, will rouse the friends and supporters of General Jackson who are the real Democrats of the city to more spirited and united exertions."[30] Which statement goes to show that even in the bitterness and chagrin of defeat, he was cool enough to see what would be the result of the earlier check, upon the greater struggle six months later.

The special significance of the municipal election of 1828 lies in the fact that it marks the change from the old loose method of nominating candidates for city offices to the close convention plan; that it introduces national party politics into city affairs; and that for the first time, business methods of organization appear in municipal politics. These are all permanent contributions to our system of American city elections. As a part of the national struggle of 1828 the superior organization of the Jacksonians, aided by the sting of sure defeat in the city

election, did in truth rouse them to greater efforts in the autumn. Whereas in city politics they were still guided by a sense of fitness and of recognition of the intrinsic worth of their fellow-citizens, when it became a question of national politics, they voted with their party, bringing in Jackson by a majority of 150 in the city alone.[31]

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OBERLIN'S PART IN THE SLAVERY CONFLICT.

WILBUR GREELEY BURROUGHS, A. M., OBERLIN, OHIO.

Little did the Rev. John J. Shipherd, pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Elyria, Ohio, realize that in the founding of Oberlin he was to change the destiny of a nation. He originated the plan in 1832. In November of the same year with his associate Philo P. Stewart, formerly a missionary to the Cherokees in Mississippi and at this time living with Shipherd at Elyria, he selected the site for Oberlin. (11); (26).

At this time the question of slavery was not a practical issue before the people of the North. The anti-slavery element was not incorporated into the original constitution of Oberlin. Indeed, the "Oberlin Covenant," a document expressing the design of the school and the settlement, has no allusion whatever to slavery. There was a deep seated feeling against it[4a] but the American Colonization Society was supposed to present the only practicable means of operating to rid the land of the evil. The early inhabitants little dreamed that the discussion of slavery would be the first topic to disturb the quiet of their wilderness.

It was due in great measure to the geographical location of Oberlin that she was able to play such an important part in the events which were to follow. Ohio was an influential State in the Union. She formed the connecting link between the East and the West. On the South she bordered on Slave Territory,—the States of Kentucky and Virginia. Ohio's sympathies were largely with the South; in fact her counties bordering on the Ohio River and for fifty miles northward were principally peopled from the Slave States. The interior counties of the State were occupied mainly by a population which took slight interest in public questions. It was therefore to the Western Reserve, covering twelve counties in the northeast part of the State, that the destiny of Ohio was committed. Here the Republican party was all powerful. Of influential factors on the Reserve, "no single, definite,

intellectual, and moral force could compare with Oberlin." (28); (312). The long southern boundary of Ohio offered the escaping slave a good chance to cross into free territory, so that the people of Ohio were afforded an exceptional opportunity in aiding great numbers of fugitives to freedom. The cruelties of the system were seen at first hand, and thus imbued many against it more deeply than any account of slavery could ever have done.

I. THE ABOLITIONIZING OF OBERLIN.

Oberlin did not lack for Abolitionists, however, even from the first year of its establishment. During the first year there were three or four young men who advocated immediate emancipation on the soil, in opposition to the colonization scheme of the American Colonization Society. This question was sometimes discussed in the Oberlin Lyceum which embraced those students and colonists who chose to join. The older and more influential men always upheld the colonization plan, with the one exception of Mr. Shipherd who was a moderate Abolitionist even at that early date.

Meanwhile the college was increasing. One hundred students, men and women, had already entered the institution, a large proportion coming from Eastern States. A Freshman Class of four members had been organized, the first Commencement held. At these exercises not a speech was made on the subject of slavery, nor the slightest reference to it heard. Thus Oberlin completed its second year without taking any prominent part in the question of slavery. But she was not to remain in the background much longer; the issue was to be thrust upon her, and once presented, she was to take up the gauntlet, and spring into the center of the conflict.

LANE SEMINARY.

Near Cincinnati, Ohio, at Walnut Hills, was situated the theological school of Lane Seminary. It numbered somewhat over one hundred students, some of whom were in the theological department, the remainder being connected with a literary department, in preparation for theology under the charge of Prof. Morgan. The theological professors were Dr. Lyman Beecher,

Prof. Stowe, and a gentleman whose name has passed into oblivion. The students were men of unusual ability and energy. Many had come from Oneida Institute, N. Y.; working their way down the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers on flat-boats, thus earning money for their college expenses. Among these Oneida men was Theodore D. Weld, later to become an influence in the cause of anti-slavery. Other students at Lane were sons of slave-holders, such as J. A. Thome and W. T. Allen, whose worldly prosperity was linked with the continuance of slavery. These men knew full well the significance of the question into which they soon were to plunge. As early as 1833, Wm. Lloyd Garrison and his "Liberator" were agitating the people. The students at Lane felt the excitement of this topic. For eighteen successive evenings, they held debates in their Chapel. Though at first there was diversity of opinion, yet at the completion of these meetings the sentiment was nearly unanimous in favor of Abolition. The young men, together with ladies of the city, gathered the negroes of Cincinnati into Sunday Schools and Day Schools, by this means doing much good. The trustees, fearful less this should damage the school, passed a law (without consultation with the faculty, except one member, the others being on their summer vacation), forbidding any discussion of slavery topics, either in private or public. Prof. Morgan was dismissed without any reason being given though it was well known that his anti-slave opinions had caused him to lose his position. The students protested against this rule prohibiting them free speech. Four-fifths of the student body then left the institution of their own accord. James Ludlow, a wealthy gentleman, gave them use of a building near the city where they continued their studies for five months.

In November, 1834, Mr. Shipherd, by order of the trustees of Oberlin started on a journey to the East for the purpose of securing money, a President, and a Professor of Mathematics for the Institution. He planned to travel by the National Road from Columbus, but guided by an inward force, he went instead to Cincinnati. He met Rev. Asa Mahan, pastor of the Sixth Street Presbyterian Church, and upon several people recommending Mr. Mahan as fitted to be the head of a college, the matter

was presented to him. Mahan was ready to accept the appointment. He had been a trustee of Lane Seminary, had protested against the action that had been taken, and when the law had passed in spite of his opposition, he had resigned. Between Mahan and Shipherd the plan was formed of taking the seceding Lane students to Oberlin, and with them as a nucleus, adding a theological seminary to Oberlin. The work of securing funds for this addition to Oberlin was at once started. Arthur Tappan, a rich New Yorker, with several others, promised the endowment of eight professorships, and a loan sufficient to build a theological hall. The Rev. John Morgan was secured as one of the seminary faculty. Now arose a startlingly formidable obstacle. Tappan and his friends, Finney (pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Congregational Church of New York, who had been asked to the chair of theology, but had declined unless some solid financial basis for the institution was assured), Mahan, Morgan, and the Lane students, all refused to have a thing to do with the project for which they all were so eager, unless negroes were admitted into all departments of Oberlin on equal terms with the whites. This aroused intense excitement at Oberlin. The general sentiment was against admitting blacks. It was thought that if they were let into the college, the place would be overrun with them and that the consequences would be terrible. Young ladies of refinement declared that if negroes were admitted, they themselves would return to their homes, if they had to "wade Lake Erie," to do it.

Due to the excitement prevailing in Oberlin, the trustees of the college held their meeting to deliberate on this subject in the Temperance House in Elyria, January 1, 1835. The principal colonists of Oberlin and several students sent a petition to the Board of Trustees asking that they meet in Oberlin. The petition read as follows:

To the Honorable Board of Trustees of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute assembled at Elyria:

Whereas there has been, and is now, among the colonists and students of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute a great excitement in their minds in consequence of a resolution of Brother J. J.

Shipherd, to be laid before the Board, respecting the admission of people of color into the Institution, and also of the Board's meeting at Elyria; now, your petitioners, feeling a deep interest in the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, and feeling that every measure possible should be taken to quell the alarm that there shall not be a root of bitterness springing up to cause a division of interest and feeling (for a house divided against itself cannot stand); therefore, your petitioners respectfully request that your honorable body will meet at Oberlin, that your deliberations may be heard and known on the great and important question in contemplation. We feel for our black brethren—we feel to want your counsels and instructions; we want to know what is duty, and, God assisting us, we will lay aside every prejudice, and do as we shall be led to believe that God would have us to do. (23:57.)

The trustees did not know what to do, so they ended by doing practically nothing. Their record reads as follows:

Whereas, information has been received from Rev. J. J. Shipherd, expressing a wish that students may be received into this Institution irrespective of color; therefore, resolved, that this Board do not feel prepared, till they have more definite information on the subject, to give a pledge respecting the course they will pursue in regard to the education of the people of color, wishing that this Institution should be on the same ground, in respect to the admission of students with other similar institutions of the land.

At this same meeting Pres. Mahan and Prof. Morgan were appointed to the positions Mr. Shipherd had wished them to fill.

Mr. Shipherd sent urgent appeals to the trustees and colonists for them to change their opinions and come over to the Abolitionists' side. By his request, another meeting of the trustees was held at Oberlin, Feb. 9, at the home of Mr. Shipherd. This house was situated on the north side of the College Square. The outcome of the conference was looked forward to with intense interest.

The trustees met in the morning. The debate that followed was long and heated. The outcome was uncertain. Mrs. Ship-

herd gathered some of the ladies of the neighborhood and spent the time in prayer that the decision of the trustees would be in favor of the negro. At last the question was put to vote. The Board was exactly divided. The decision rested with Rev. John Keep of Ohio City (west side of Cleveland), who was President of the Board, and as presiding officer cast the deciding vote in case of a tie. He voted. It was in favor of admitting colored students. The die once cast Oberlin has never taken action concerning this matter from that day to this. Though the effect of the resolution which was drawn up was decisive, the wording was somewhat ambiguous. It ran as follows:

Whereas, there does exist in our country an excitement in respect to our colored population, and fears are entertained that on the one hand they will be left unprovided for as to the means of a proper education, and on the other that they will in unsuitable numbers be introduced into our schools, and thus in effect forced into the society of the whites, and the state of public sentiment is such as to require from the Board some definite expression on the subject; therefore, resolved, that the education of the people of color is a matter of great interest, and should be encouraged and sustained in this institution.

At this time there was but one colored man resident in the county. But as a result of this resolution a tremendous influx of negroes was expected. So when at length a single colored man was seen approaching the town, a little boy, son of one of the trustees, ran to the house, calling, "They're coming, father, — they're coming."

At this last mentioned meeting of the trustees, Rev. Chas. G. Finney of New York City, was appointed Professor of Theology. Due to the anti-slavery attitude of the college. Messrs. Mahan, Finney, and Morgan accepted their appointments. Prof. Morgan was given the chair of New Testament Literature and Exegesis, instead of that of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, as first proposed.

Arthur Tappan now pledged $10,000.00 to erect a building for the use principally of the Theological Department, and also promised to secure a loan of $10,000.00 more, for other necessary buildings and other improvements. Together with several

other gentlemen, the Tappans started the "Oberlin Professorship Association", engaging to pay quarterly the interest on $80,000.00 to cover the salaries of eight professors, at $600.00 each. It was intended to finally pay the principal, and thus permanently endow the institution.

The coming of the Lane students in May, 1835, acted as a stimulus to Oberlin. Also about this time the Collegiate department was increased by students from Western Reserve College, where there had been trouble similar to that at Lane. This harboring by Oberlin of students from other colleges, as well as Oberlin's anti-slavery principles, drew upon her the hatred of many people.

Not all of the most prominent students of Lane came to Oberlin. Theodore D. Weld and Henry B. Stanton were among these. They devoted all their time to public anti-slavery work. A few weeks before the close of the Fall term, Weld came to Oberlin and gave a series of twenty lectures on slavery. These lectures dealt with the nature of slavery and its relations and bearings, personal, social, political, and moral. He was a wonderful speaker, and the house was crowded every evening of the three full weeks. Oberlin was converted to Abolitionism. (23: 67, 75); (30); (28: 32).

Some people in the United States thought that the Church was protecting slavery and that the Church must be battered down in order to reach the system of slavery. These people wished to treat the Christian Church as a failure, and they urged all Church members to leave their Churches and have nothing to do with them. But though the Church was slow in adopting the view that slavery was a sin, the people of Oberlin would not denounce it.[31] However, in 1835, the (28: 193) Oberlin Church did pass the following resolution: "That as slavery is a sin, no person shall be invited to preach or minister to this church, or any brother be invited to commune, who is a slave holder."

OBERLIN'S RELATION TO SLAVERY; 1835-1850.

Near the close of 1838, the Oberlin Evangelist was started. It prospered and soon attained a circulation of 5,000 copies. The Evangelist was a semi-monthly of 8 quarto pages. With

the exception of the office editor who received compensation for his work, the labor of the contributors was entirely free; whatever profits there might be were given to further the educational work at Oberlin, chiefly in aiding men to prepare for the ministry. The principal writers for this paper were Finney, Cowles, Mahan, Morgan, and Thome. Mr. Finney was a regular contributor, almost every number containing a sermon by him, as well as other material. The Evangelist continued for 24 years, until, during the Civil War, it failed for want of support. It was largely of a religious nature, though it dealt also with current matters of secular importance. The paper was one of great influence. (23: 93, 94).

In 1845, the Oberlin Quarterly Review was established. Mahan and Wm. Cochran, and later Finney, were the editors. Its aim was a more thorough discussion of religious topics, and of other subjects of (23: 94) public interest. It was never well supported, and lasted only four years.

In 1839 the college was more than $30,000.00 in debt. Bankruptcy stared it in the face. In the United States there was no one to come to their aid. Therefore, two trustees, Father Keep and William Dawes, went to England to endeavor to secure funds to meet the indebtedness. They were armed with letters of recommendation from prominent anti-slavery men in the United States, such as Gerrit Smith, Garrison, Whittier, and others. Their work was carried on chiefly among the Society of Friends, on account of this sect's common sympathy with Oberlin on the slavery question, and the education of women. Other anti-slavery people also gave them money and aid. Though it was more difficult to raise funds due to the remoteness of the object, still they obtained above expenses $30,000.00 in money sufficient "to meet the most pressing liabilities of the institution, a large accession of books to the library, with good provisions for philosophical and chemical apparatus". The gifts received ranged from 100 lbs. the largest, down to a few shillings. The Common Council of the City of London held funds in trust for charitable purposes. The Oberlin men went before that august body and presented their cause. They did this with such effect that they came within a vote or two of securing an appropria-

tion. Mr. Hamilton Hill of London with his family returned with Messrs. Keep and Dawes, to become the secretary and treasurer of the college. He held this position for 25 years. The two Oberlin trustees were gone about 18 months, returning near the close of 1840. They had accomplished their mission; the college was relieved from its imminent danger. (23: 208-210); (10); (19).

Oberlin had several societies in its early days which are not in existence at the present time.

In the Oberlin Evangelist, January 8, 1850, we read of the formation of "The Oberlin Peace League". It held meetings once a month. Jennings was elected chairman on a board for business; D. M. Ide, Sec.; Pease, Treasurer. The object of the society was to abolish the custom of international war, and to promote universal peace among the nations of the earth.

On September 14, 1851, a meeting was held in the chapel to organize a Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society. The meeting was opened with prayer. A committee of three were appointed to draft a brief constitution and to nominate officers for the reorganization of the society. J. M. Langston addressed the assembly on the condition of education among the colored people of the state. By unanimous vote, Mr. Langston was appointed to visit the schools among the colored people, to establish others where needed, and to report on the general conditions among the negroes. The constitution of this society, Art. II, reads: "The object of this society shall be the social and moral elevation of the colored man." Art. V, states that, "Any person who is practically opposed to slavery, may become a member of this society by annexing his name to the constitution." On September 18, 1852, S. N. Hendall was elected President, and Orin W. White, Vice President.[1]

The ladies of Oberlin also had an anti-slavery society, an address before which by Prof. J. H. Fairchild is recorded in the Oberlin Evangelist, July 16, 1856. The work done by the Female Anti-Slavery Society is well set forth in the Oberlin Evangelist, August 15, 1855. It states that the society began in December, 1835. That the object of the ladies was "to diffuse light and knowledge on the subject of slavery, to express our

sympathy for our oppressed brethren and sisters, to elevate the free people of color and emancipate them from the oppression of public sentiment, and equal laws. For years the society held meetings quarterly with appropriate exercises." Funds were collected and used to pay lecturers and teachers, besides relieving the wants of needy colored people both bond and free.

THE LORAIN COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The sentiment of the people of Oberlin regarding anti-slavery is graphically shown in the following quotation from the Oberlin Evangelist, September 11, 1839: "On Commencement evening, the Lorain County Anti-Slavery Society met by adjournment at Oberlin. The meeting was large, probably more than 1,000 people were in attendance. Mr. C. C. Burleigh, of Pennsylvania, addressed the Society for an hour and a half in his usual impressive manner, on the practical duties of Abolitionists. After the address the following resolutions were passed, first by the society, and then by the entire congregation, no one voting in the negative in either case. We hope no abolitionists will forget the principle of these resolutions in the excitement of the political campaign just now commenced. Let them abide firm and the disgraceful 'black laws', of Ohio will be repealed at the coming session of the Legislature. *Resolved,* That we will not vote for any man for President or Vice President of the United States, or for Congress, who is not in favor of the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the United States Territories, and of the abolition of the internal slave trade, and who is not opposed to the admission of new slave states into the Union. *Resolved,* That we will not support any man for the Legislature of the State of Ohio who is not in favor of the repeal of all laws of said State which are founded on a distinction of color."

"The exercises of the day were closed by singing the Passage of the Red Sea."

Another society in Oberlin was the Oberlin Lyceum, already mentioned. It was the first literary society in Oberlin. Its members embraced both students and colonists. (23: 42).

When the Lane students arrived in Oberlin, May, 1835,

they were followed by James Bradley of Cincinnati. Upon arriving at Oberlin he entered the Institution, being the first colored student admitted. (23: 74).

The Adult Colored School in Oberlin: This school was founded in about 1842, being designed chiefly for colored persons of adult age who had been debarred in earlier life by slavery or prejudice, from obtaining an education. The public schools of Oberlin were opened to colored students, but the mode of instruction for children and that for adults was so different that it was deemed advisable to have them separate. The Oberlin Evangelist, July 17, 1844, states that the success of the school is very encouraging. The scholars were often heads of families, but notwithstanding their age, they were greatly interested in their studies. Many of the more advanced members were fitted to enter Oberlin College; while the younger or less proficient ones were instructed so as to be able to pursue higher courses of study. To place the work on a permanent basis, a Committee of Trust was formed for seeking financial aid. Its members were: J. A. Thome, Amasa Walker, J. W. Mason, Thomas Brown, and Hamilton Hill. The negroes did what they could to pay their teachers, but they could not help much as they, themselves, were poor.

In those early days, like an island in the sea, the colony of Oberlin was isolated from sympathy in its work for the negro. The neighboring towns were pro-slavery. They were ever ready to assist the slave-hunter, and to injure Oberlin in any way possible. Often meetings were held and measures discussed for putting Oberlin out of existence. Anonymous communications were sent threatening to burn the town, and for years an armed patrol had to be kept to guard the place. Students were egged, stoned, and sometimes seriously hurt, simply because they came from this hated community. One man, an evangelist noted for his noble Christian character, while on a journey had the legs of his horse cut to the bone for the sole reason that the animal belonged to an inhabitant of Oberlin.[24]

Due to this reputation of Oberlin as a stronghold of Abolitionism, Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglas, both noted Abolitionists, came to persuade the people that the anti-slavery

doctrine involved a withdrawal from all political action; that the Constitution of the United States was pro-slavery and corrupt, and that all who voted under it shared in its wickedness; that only those were doing their duty who abandoned all political organizations and refused to take any part in the affairs of the government. A debate on this subject was held. President Mahan led the discussion on the Oberlin side which was contrary to the views upheld by Garrison and Douglas. In this Mr. Mahan was aided by Prof. T. B. Hudson, and others. The outcome of it all was that the Oberlin people continued to vote, and the two Abolitionists went on their way. Douglas soon after changed his opinion and voted with the other Abolitionists, the same as the Oberlin men.

After this Stephen Foster and his wife, Abbey Kelly Foster, came to Oberlin on a somewhat like errand. They tried to show that it was compromising one's anti-slavery position, and sharing in the guilt of slavery to maintain any correspondence or friendship with churches whose members believed in slavery. They said that the continuous chain of fellowship united the Oberlin church with the slave-holding churches at the South, and bound all together in one "covenant of Hell". This man and his wife wished to divide the churches and alienate Christian people from each other. There was a public debate in which the Fosters were opposed by President Mahan, as leader of the Oberlin side, in the College Chapel for the evenings of one entire week. The result was that the church arrangements remained as before.

Other prominent speakers at Oberlin were Senators Chase and Hale. Both these gentlemen spoke in the First Church the evening of October 1, 1852, on the Anniversary of the West India Emancipation of Slaves. The time was chiefly occupied by Mr. Hale, whose subject was, "Are you, the people of this Nation, fulfilling the pledge on which is conditioned the inheritance of your liberties?" He faced a crowded house.

Later, in 1860, Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, and Hon. H. G. Blake unexpectedly passed through Oberlin August 3d. A hasty notice filled the First Church with an eager audience. Clay spoke for three-quarters of an hour; Blake the remaining quarter.[4h]

Oberlin was accused of being all talk and theory; and though as an Institution she did not favor direct rescuing of slaves from their masters on slave territory, still there were men within her portals who believed that God called them to do this very thing. And they obeyed their conscience, though by so doing they broke the laws of the Government, were imprisoned, beaten, starved. Some did this before entering Oberlin, others after being matriculated in the Institution. Still others suffered simply for their convictions.

Rev. Amos Dresser, Oberlin Seminary, 1839, though having no intention to assist the slaves, yet suffered merely for his belief. On July 1, 1835, he left Cincinnati, Ohio, for a trip into the Slave States in order to raise money so that he could complete his education. He had for sale a book called the "Cottage Bible". In packing his books he used pamphlets and papers to prevent the books from rubbing. These papers were old religious newspapers, anti-slavery publications, temperance almanacs, etc.

He arrived at Nashville July 18. On the way down most of his publications regarding anti-slavery had been distributed at Danville, Kentucky, where there was an anti-slavery society. With the aid of a man, he carried his books into the Nashville Inn; but in so doing forgot the few remaining papers used as wrappers. The buggy in which he journeyed needing repair, was sent to a man to be mended. This man discovered the abolitionist papers. He spread the news, and the excitement grew more and more intense; for the people feared that Dresser was giving the negroes printed matter in hopes of stirring up an insurrection, the horrors of which would be indescribable. Mr. Dresser was arrested and brought to trial before the Committee of Vigilance. The trial lasted from between 4 and 5 o'clock P. M. till about 10 P. M. Further evidence brought against him were some letters, found in his trunk, from friends mentioning slavery; and this together with the fact that he had been a member of Lane Seminary, as well as of the Anti-Slavery Society formed there, convinced the Committee that he was guilty. Although absolutely innocent, he was taken out doors, the crowd forming a ring in the center of which Dresser was

placed. There, in the wavering light of the torches with a multitude of hostile faces peering at him from every side, this Oberlin man received 20 lashes on his bare back, given with a heavy, cow-hide whip. He was then taken to his lodgings. Next morning, due to the excitement still prevailing he left the city in disguise. Unable to bring anything along in his flight, he abandoned $300.00 worth of unsold books, and was obliged to sell his horse and buggy at a $200.00 loss. Neither did he ever again hear of his trunk or any of his personal property. Glad to escape with his life, his sole possessions, only those clothes he wore, Dresser made his way toward the North.[32]

George Thompson, at one time a student in Oberlin, during July, 1841, with two men, Alanson Work and James E. Burr, made an attempt to take slaves from Missouri across the river and start them on the road toward freedom. Thompson waited in the row-boat while his comrades went ashore to get the negroes. They were gone some time. At last Thompson heard men approaching. The next he knew, he was covered by the rifles of several Missourians. The slaves whom they had come to aid had turned traitor, informed their masters of the plot to rescue them, and the capture of the three Abolitionists was the result. After a trial before a magistrate, which proceeding was a farce, they were cast into prison to await the sitting of the court, two and one-half months distant. Here they were chained to the walls of their cell like dangerous wild beasts. At last their final trial took place. The outcome was that they were sentenced to 12 years in the penitentiary. While imprisoned in the penitentiary, Thompson and his fellow sufferers did much good to their companion prisoners by preaching to them and also helping them to become better men. Work and Burr were released before their term was completed, and left Thompson behind them in prison. Shortly after, he also was pardoned, after being in confinement 4 years, 11 months and 12 days. During this period he was treated with comparative respect; he was never beaten, though one of his comrades received a flogging for not conforming to a certain prison regulation which his conscience forbade him to do on the Sabbath. (34); (41).

And now we come to a man whose career reads like some

romance of fiction; this man is Calvin Fairbank. He came from Hume, N. Y., and was enrolled in the Oberlin Preparatory Department from 1844 to 1845.[11]

Mr. Fairbank writes that "coming within the influence of active anti-slavery men at Oberlin, Ohio, I was led to examine the subject in the light of law and justice, and soon found the United States Constitution anti-slavery, and the institution existing in violation of law." Thus God, through the instrumentality of Oberlin, used this young man for untold good. As early as 1837, he made his first rescue, carrying a black man on a raft from the Virginia to the northern side of the Ohio River. Having once dedicated himself to the work of aiding escaping slaves, he plunged with all his strength into the struggle. He says in summing up his achievements, "forty-seven slaves I guided toward the North Star, in violation of the State codes of Virginia and Kentucky. I piloted them through the forests, mostly by night, — girls, fair and (33: 10) white, dressed as ladies; men and boys, as gentlemen or servants — men in women's clothes, and women in men's clothes; boys dressed as girls and girls as boys; on foot or on horseback, in buggies, carriages, common wagons, in and under loads of hay, straw, old furniture, boxes, and bags; crossed the Jordan of the Slave, swimming, or wading chin deep, or in boats or skiffs, on rafts, and often on a pine log. And I never suffered one to be recaptured. None of them, so far as I have learned, have ever come to poverty or to disgrace." This work was carried on principally in the vicinity of the Ohio River, across which stream Fairbank made it his duty to convey the fugitives. Among the many adventures of his eventful career, with the exception of his long imprisonment, he ranks the following incident as the most extraordinary. One day during May, 1843, while walking in the court-yard of the prison at Lexington, Kentucky, his attention was called to an upper window by someone rapping gently on the glass. Glancing up he saw a girl at the window. Her face was white. She beckoned to him and he went to her cell. Being allowed to speak to her, he learned that her father was a white planter; she, herself, one-sixty-fourth colored; that her father's legal wife becoming jealous of her beauty and many accom-

plishments (for this 18-year-old girl had educated herself, and Fairbank states that he never saw a more beautiful, genteel and talented lady), had conspired to sell the girl to the far South; her father being hard pressed for money, would be unable to save her; and that unless Mr. Fairbank, whom she knew by sight, was able to rescue her, her future would be horrible in the extreme. Promising to do what he could, Calvin Fairbank left her, and made all haste to Cincinnati, for he had only a few days in which to prepare before the girl was put on the auction block. Once in the city he visited a number of influential abolitionists, among them the Hon. S. P. Chase, and raised $2,275.00 in cash. With this, and a paper authorizing him to draw $25,000.00 in case of dire need, he returned to the scene of action. He was met by the girl's father who gave him $100.00, saying it was all the money he could raise, but to use it in saving his daughter, if such a thing were possible. At last the critical moment arrived. On a platform elevated above the throng of 2,000 spectators, with the noon-day sun pouring down its pitiless rays upon her, a white girl, in all but name, was put up for public sale. At first the bidding was fast and furious, for the girl was very beautiful; but as the figures rose higher and higher, one after another dropped out, until only a half-breed French slave-trader, hired by her father's wife to get the girl and take her South, and Calvin Fairbank remained. Twice the brutal auctioneer handled the girl roughly in an endeavor to spur the buyers on, handled her so roughly that a murmur of disgust and rage swept through that southern crowd. The Frenchman wavered and with an oath turned to his rival. "How high are you going, sir?" he said. "Just one higher than you", Fairbank replied. The trader cursing, walked away. The girl was sold at a cost of $1,485.00. She was taken to Cincinnati where as soon as possible freedom papers were made out and given her. (33: 26-34).

But it was not possible for Fairbank to aid so many fugitives and go unharmed. He was caught, tried and convicted February 18, 1845, of helping slaves to escape. The sentence was for 15 years in the Frankfort, Kentucky, penitentiary. his head was shaven, he was dressed in stripes and put to sawing

stone. On August 23, 1849, after an imprisonment of 4 years, 10 months and 24 days, he was pardoned. During these years he preached and worked among the other prisoners, holding prayer-meetings and Sunday-schools. On the whole he was treated well. His father came to Kentucky to petition for his son's release. While there he was taken with the cholera and died. Calvin Fairbank, on being freed, wished to take the body of his father North for burial. He went to Cincinnati, preparatory to going to Lexington for the body. The weather was too hot for its removal, however, and while waiting for the temperature to moderate, he was appealed to, to rescue a young mulatto woman. Ever ready to help the oppressed, he brought the woman across the Ohio River in a leaky skiff, and took her to a place of safety. He then returned to Jeffersonville, Indiana. Sunday, November 9, 1851, he was attacked and kidnapped into Kentucky by A. L. Shotwell, owner of the girl, and Marshals Ronald and Hamlet, of Kentucky. He was lodged in jail; his name was not yet known. When brought to trial before a pro-slavery jury, he was sentenced to 15 years at hard labor for aiding the colored woman to escape. The entire proceedings were illegal, added to which was the fact that this court had no right to try the case as it came under the jurisdiction of the District Court of the United States for the District of Indiana. Fairbank was again taken to the penitentiary at Frankfort, Kentucky. The jailor was this time harsh in the extreme. He sent Fairbank to the hackling-house, keeping him there four weeks. Here the hemp was dressed. The room was filled with poison dust, so full that on a still day it was impossible to make out a person from a block of wood even in a window or door. He saw six men out of twenty-four in one week taken from this place, only to die inside another week from the effects of the dust. Another man took charge of the prison. Under this brute, whose name was Ward, conditions were worse yet. He increased the amount of work required, making it so great that it was impossible to accomplish it. Fairbank, who was put at weaving, could not do all that was set him; therefore he was beaten each day cruelly. He was a very noted prisoner, so noted that on February 14, 1858, he addressed an assem-

bly of the elite of Kentucky. In the audience were Gov. Morehead, of Kentucky, State officers, both Houses of the Legislature, and many other distinguished personages, including a number of ladies. Mr. Fairbank spoke on the text, "Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people." In his address, he prophesied the coming of a Civil War. This statement caused quite a sensation. When the war did come the penitentiary was now in the hands of the Federal, now in those of the Confederate forces. Sometimes in the latter case Rebel soldiers sought to kill him. At one time he had to defend himself with an axe. Most of his imprisonment he suffered cruelties such that it is scarcely believable that a man could endure and live. He says, "During the eight years from March 1, 1854, to March 1, 1862, I received 35,105 stripes from a leather strap 15 inches to 18 inches long, one and one-half inches wide, and one-quarter to three-eighths inches thick. It was of half tanned leather, and frequently well soaked so that it might burn the flesh more intensely. These floggings were not with a rawhide or cow-hide, but with a strap of leather attached to a handle of convenient size and length to inflict as much pain as possible with as little real damage as possible to the working capacity." The number of beatings he received were 1,003. The number of blows administered at each flogging ranged from 5, 10, 20, 50, 60, to 108. He says that every 10 stripes were as bad as a living death. His ordinary weight was 180 pounds; he was reduced to 117½ pounds. Once he was struck over the eye with a piece of wood by a brutal overseer, knocking him senseless and gashing his forehead above the eye. For many years after he had a feeling of vertigo due to this blow. During the last six years of his imprisonment the noble girl to whom he was engaged, leaving her New England home and securing a position as a teacher in Oxford, Ohio, visited him whenever she was able. She not only encouraged Fairbank during those awful days, but she petitioned the Governor of the State for his release. Finally Lieutenant-Governor Jacob came into power. He was friendly to Fairbank, and at once wrote his pardon. His second imprisonment had lasted 12 years, 5 months and 6 days. This brought the

total period of his confinement to 17 years and 4 months Shortly after his pardon he was married to the lady, Miss Mandana Tileston, who had waited so long for his release.

He died at Angelica, N. Y., October 12, 1898, and went to meet his wife who had passed on before him.[33]

In 1836, Hiram Wilson, a Lane student, on graduating, went to Upper Canada to commence work among the 20,000 freedmen who had fled there for refuge. He found them very poor, and becoming vile and depraved. He devoted his life to teaching and Christianizing them. At the end of two years 14 teachers from Oberlin were assisting him, at an actual[28] cost of $1,000.00, but with only $600.00 received to carry on the task. In 1840, thirty-nine Oberlin people were teaching schools in Ohio; one-half of them being Oberlin women who received only their board in pay. As many more were in Canada. (28: 323).

In 1846, a meeting of the "Friends of Bible Missions," was held at Albany, N. Y., and the organization of the "American Missionary Association", took place. This society took the work of the then existing Western Indian Committee of N. Y., the Union Missionary Society of Hartford, and the Western Evangelical Society of Oberlin. Lewis Tappan was appointed Treasurer, and the next year Prof. George Whipple, of Oberlin College, became Corresponding Secretary of the new society.

From the earliest moment that Oberlin became abolitionized, her students commenced to spread the belief far and near. During the winter vacation following the addresses in Oberlin by Mr. T. D. Weld (already referred to), twenty or more students went out as lecturers through Ohio and Pennsylvania, under the auspices of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Their receptions were varied. At some places they found friends; at others mobs.[23]

Oberlin students, also, went to the South as teachers, partly through curiosity, partly through the chance of better salaries, for the scarcity of teachers in the South made a demand for their services. But those traveling in the South ran great danger of personal violence if it were once learned that they were from the hated Oberlin.[31]

In speaking of the wide scope of Oberlin's influence, Gen. J. D. Cox, an Oberlin alumnus, in his address at the Oberlin Semi-centennial upon, "The Influence of Oberlin College on Public Affairs during the Half Century of its Life," said, "I unhesitatingly assert that there is hardly a township west of the Alleghanies and north of the central line of Ohio, in which the influence of Oberlin men and Oberlin opinions cannot be specifically identified and traced. It was a propaganda of a school of thought and action having distinct characteristics, and as easily recognizable in its work as was that of Garrison and the American Anti-Slavery Society in their methods and work." He also says: "Their uncompromising devotion to reforms of all sorts, so far as they thought them true reforms, was really based on this principle — fighting with might and main against all wrong. Slavery only happened to be the demon wrong at that moment in the way." [31]

The early inhabitants of Oberlin were Whigs. Then Oberlin on becoming anti-slavery, took a rather active part in politics. Dr. N. S. Townsend, a trustee of the College, was in the Ohio State Legislature. He with two other men held the balance of power between the two parties. They sent Salmon P. Chase to the United States Senate. At the Presidential election in 1840, a Liberty candidate for President was voted for by the majority of the Oberlin people. A portion still hoped for anti-slavery from the Whig party. In 1844, almost the entire Oberlin vote was cast for the liberty party candidate, James G. Birney. In 1848, a large majority voted for Van Buren, the Free Soil candidate. After this the Oberlin vote was with the Republican party. (23: 109-111).

OBERLIN'S RELATION TO SLAVERY, 1850-1861.

Oberlin not only took part in politics by voting, but the Oberlin Evangelist for January 30, 1856, tells us that a petition was circulated in Oberlin regarding slavery. It was then sent to the Senate and House of Representatives at Washington. This paper urged the enactment of laws as necessary for securing the privileges of Habeas Corpus to any person in the

United States who was restrained from his liberty under pretense of his being property.

In 1850, by act of the State Legislature, the name of the College[s] was changed from "Oberlin Collegiate Institute", to "Oberlin College".

In 1842, the hatred for Oberlin grew so strong that the State Legislature once more thought of repealing Oberlin's charter. Judge Harris, Representative from Lorain county, was not only a fair-minded and honorable man, but he had also married an Oberlin lady. He sent to Oberlin for 20 or so catalogues to distribute among his fellow[4k] Democrats that they might see what kind of a place it was that was threatened with the loss of its charter. They changed their viewpoint and the scheme was quietly dropped. Thus Oberlin escaped. A Democratic Legislature four times in all agitated the question of repealing the charter. The last attempt was in 1843, when the bill was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 36 to 29. (23: 368-370).

The enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law of 18— ushered in a new era of slave-hunting on the part of the South in the North. This period extended through the Fifties. "The Fugitive Slave Enactment became the means of pushing the two laws, moral and statutory, to their sharpest point of contradiction." The conscience of the time was aroused to strong opposition to this law. The chief scene of the clash between these warring parties was in Ohio, due in a measure to its geographical position. The chief spot in the state where the slave-hunter and the men who believed in doing as their conscience directed, came in collision was in Oberlin. Here was located what was known as the Higher Law, a belief that it was one's duty to follow what one's conscience dictated, irrespective of the law of the land. (36: 244-261).

The Editor of the Canadian Independent says the Oberlin Evangelist for January 30, 1856, declared that "Oberlin is perhaps the most important station along the whole line of the Underground Railway. It has rendered the most important services to Freedom. It is second only to Canada as an asylum for the hunted fugitive."

The fugitives who reached Oberlin were conveyed to some lake port between Cleveland and Sandusky. There the captains of certain sailing vessels would let the negroes steal aboard, and when the slave once more stepped on land, he was in Canada. There were at all these ports people who sent word to Oberlin when a friendly boat came in.

But in all the good work that Oberlin did, she never resisted the capture of her colored friends with force; no violence ever occurred. And she can say that no fugitive on once reaching her protection was ever carried back into bondage. A certain law greatly helped the Oberlin people in preventing the recapture of a fugitive. This law was that only one warrant at a time, to search one house at a time, could be issued in Elyria. So that by the time an officer was able to investigate the house in which the negro was hidden, the slave had been conveyed to some other part of the town, or was on his way towards Canada.

On all sides of Oberlin were towns and country-people in opposition to her belief in the Higher Law. On Middle Ridge Road, 6 miles north of Oberlin, a guide post was erected by the authorities there. This post had on it the life size figure of a fugitive negro running with all his strength towards Oberlin.

The sign on a tavern, 4 miles east of town, was decorated on the side facing Oberlin with the scene of a slave pursued by a tiger.

As early as 1841 a negro and his wife were caught by the slave-hunters in a house in the forest one mile east of Oberlin. It was a Friday evening in the Spring. A public meeting was taking place at the College Chapel, when word of the seizure was brought. The meeting broke up at once; the people in a body pursued the slave-catchers, and though the Oberlin men were unarmed they, on overtaking the Southerners, induced them to go to Elyria. Their papers were found to be irregular; the negroes were placed in jail until the hunters could go and return from Kentucky with evidence. A warrant was served on the slave-hunters for assault and battery with deadly weapons, and threats towards the members of the house in which the slaves were found. The Kentuckians were bound over to appear in

court. Before the trial took place one of them had died; the other returned to the trial to find the slaves had broken jail and escaped; that this escape was due to the fact that another prisoner in the jail, a basket-maker, had broken out, and that the negroes had followed him. The Kentuckian was released without trial. (23: 118). (28:38).

Sometimes the ruse was accomplished of sending off a load of make-believe fugitives with a great show of carefulness; while the real negroes would be quietly taken in another direction.

Sheffield, an Oberlin student, rode on horseback in daylight to Huron with a negro man attired as a woman, with face chalked white and veiled.

Another rescue was effected when the fugitive was in the sorest need; a capture seemed inevitable. The slave-hunters were watching the house in which the negro was concealed, and to leave was impossible. Mr. Pease, the Oberlin artist, was sent for. He brought with him his paint and brushes. For an hour he worked on the visible portions of the man. When he ceased, there was no more before him a negro slave escaping from bondage, but a white man to all appearances the same as other white men. In this disguise the negro left the house, entered a carriage, and was driven safely away, all being accomplished in plain sight of the slave-hunters.[24]

A rescue was carried to a successful conclusion by transferring the fugitives from the old-boarding hall where they were concealed to a load of hay in which they were covered. Then the next morning the load was hauled to the lake, and the slaves embarked for Canada.[24]

One Sabbath a beautiful octoroon sat in church beside an Oberlin lady, Mrs. Holtslander. The girl was tall and slender with black hair slightly waving over a broad white forehead, large pensive eyes, a small mouth, and Caucasian features. Her story was as follows:

"That her mother was a house servant of her father and master, and that she had had the same educational advantages as were given to her white half-sisters. They had lived together in perfect harmony. There was an abundance for all. Her mother had been housekeeper for 20 years. Several other chil-

dren were born to her, and were equally well treated, but this one's love for music and ability to learn had been even a value above the others. One evening she overheard a discussion in which it was said that 'Minerva,' calling her by name, would bring a very high price in the New Orleans market. She was now at an age to be appreciated, and no man but a man of wealth could afford to buy her. She would not be knocked down for less than $2,000.00, and that would release the mortgage on the farm. 'It must not be,' cried the mistress. 'She is too good a girl. I would rather take one-half and know where she is, and if she is well treated. Remember she is attached to us and it might cause her death. Do not think of it for the present, I beg of you.' To this the master and father of the girl replied, 'Think of it! I can think of nothing else. What are we to do? We shall be sold out at Sheriff's sale if nothing is done. What have I had these people here for but to fit them for the slave market, do you suppose? That is what makes our expenses so great, and we can keep it up no longer. Do you think I am a fool?"

Minerva did not stop to listen longer. She knew her fate was sealed. She was to be sold. A journey to see the world and finish her education, was to put her on the auction block to be the mistress of some brute. "No, never," she soliloquized, "I will go to-night. I will tell no one, not my mother or sisters or brothers. Where shall I go? To the North. Follow the North Star. Which is it I wonder?" and she peered into the heavens and said, "even that I must not ask or they will suspect me. My clothes, where are they? Oh I am so dazed, but I will go. I will need rubbers, and my woolen underskirt and my black dress and my mother's black shawl. I will try to find a little money, for that is a good friend."

Hastily she put a few things in a black silk reticule, and with a thick veil, ran down towards the boat landing, just as a boat anchored at the wharf. She hid away in a state-room until the boat whistled to leave, and after she heard the engine rotate regularly, she ventured out and asked for a berth and a passage to Cincinnati. She was closely veiled, and it was towards

midnight. She was given her ticket by the captain and no questions asked.

When she awoke the sun was shining in her room, and the boat was passing farms and villages. She was very hungry, and had but a piece of corn cake in her pocket, which she ate and felt better. She watched the passengers as they passed her state-room. Now and then an old gentleman with gray hair and benevolent countenance stood on deck alone. "Would he be a good one to ask for the North Star, or for some place to go in Cincinnati?" thought Minerva. "I have no one else to ask, so God go with me and shape his thoughts toward me." About noon she ventured to approach him, and said, "Do you know anyone in Cincinnati?" He replied, "I should hope so for I have lived there for forty years."

"Could you tell me where to go on the Underground Railway? I want to get to Canada. I wish I knew which was the North Star."

"Ah yes," he replied, "I will write the name on a paper and my own. You can give it to the cab-driver and he will take you without any questions. You have asked the right person this time, but you had better rely on names given you, for all along the line are enemies and only a few friends. Out of this boat load I do not know of another. For there is money in betrayal, and few can resist money. I have helped many a one. Do not speak to me again. Go right out to the busses and give your destination and they will take you, for they too work for money."

"I have money," said Minerva, "I brought a little with me."

"Pay the hackman two dollars; it is a good ways out of town. He will ask that and you pay it, and you will need no more."

She returned to her room and counted her money. She had more than enough. "I am hungry," she said to herself. Just then some one tossed into her window a paper of crackers. It was enough, life so intense did not need more. It was the hour of nine, in the evening, when the boat anchored at Cincinnati. She watched for a hack-driver whom she thought kind and careless,

and he came, read her paper and said "All right," put her in, shut the door, and was off before the others had come from the boat. When she alighted, two grave Quakers came to the door and said, "This is the right place; the driver is paid; no trunk of course. Come right in," and she did; and in the stately home she felt safe from blood-hounds, whether in human or brute form.

They heard her story, and said, "The papers are full of it. That boat was too well loaded to come fast, and the water is low, and thus you have escaped detection. We have a room in here, cheerful and bright." They took down a painting, pushed the wall paper, and it swung back as a door. Within was a fire-place, a cupboard to be filled with food, a closet, and sky-lights. It was evidently kept for just such occasions. After a light supper, she slept as sound as a young woman could who had been running for life, and reached a place of comparative safety. For three weeks she made this place her home. To and fro the detectives had gone, but there was no one to reveal it but the aged couple, and they said nothing, not even to their friends. With two more stops of a day each, Minerva had reached Oberlin. At midnight the carriage had brought her from Wellington, the nearest railway station in 1859. After a week in Oberlin she had ventured to Church. She came for several Sundays, and then disappeared."[9] She had doubtless gone to Canada.

This story has been told in full, to show more distinctly the kind of work which Oberlin did; the kind of folks whom she often helped to life and freedom.

Numerous other stories could be told of escaping slaves who, but for the help received at Oberlin, would have been retaken and severely punished, in addition to being once more enslaved. But enough has already been related to give the reader a conception of the practical good that Oberlin did in those days before the War.

Oberlin had a goodly number of resident colored folk. They lived mostly on one street, and had their own social set. They were allowed privileges, and were not treated with disdain. A few rose to distinction.[9]

In 1854, Mr. Chambers, a wealthy planter of Salisbury, North Carolina, freed his slaves. Seventeen he sent to Oberlin

to settle. He gave each family money to start themselves on; to at least one he gave $500.00 in gold.

Mr. Patton, of Kentucky, liberated his slaves after his wife's death; the negroes having come to him through his marriage. This act of kindness so angered his neighbors that he was thrown into prison for inciting a negro insurrection. The slaves he had sent to Oberlin. Once in his prison cell, he looked around him for some means of escape. He saw a bucket hanging from a hook on the wall. Seizing this hook he finally managed to wrench it free. When night came and the prison had been locked, he made his escape by opening the locks on the doors by means of his hook. He scaled the outer wall of the jail, and fled for the ferry. He was conveyed into Indiana where for a time he lay in hiding. Then he made his way to Oberlin. When it was safe he returned to Kentucky, but came back to Oberlin every few months to see how his former slaves were getting on.[9]

One little slave boy of Kentucky thanks his Creator that there is such a place as Oberlin. The Sabbath School children took part in raising money to buy Henry's freedom. He cost $210.00. All funds received over that amount were to be used for his education.[4m]

Some of the escaping blacks liked Oberlin so well that they made it their home, in spite of the danger of detection and capture. So in one way and another the number of these colored folks increased; they became part of our town.

The enrollment of negroes in the college was not large. From 1840-1860, there were only 4% or 5% of this race in the Institution. Soon after the War the percent rose to 7% or 8%. The courses of study were never altered to suit these people. No white person was obliged to sit beside a negro in the classroom, or elsewhere. It is not known definitely how many colored students have attended Oberlin, as no separate list, or any distinction regarding color, has ever been made. The only reliance that can be placed on the past is by taking the word of instructors and others, who tell us what they can remember. (23: 111-112).

That these negroes who studied here were not educated in vain is shown from the work which they did on leaving Ober-

lin. A circular soliciting funds for the college, issued in 1860, states: "Instruction is invariably given equally to black and white persons. A large number of the 500 colored students already instructed there, are now engaged as teachers of their own race in the Western States and Canada." The education imparted (at Oberlin), is of a high order, students in Classics, Mathematics, etc., obtain degrees irrespective of color." It goes on to say that, "The College is not intended to be a school for the education of the colored race exclusively; its great object in educating the colored and white races together, is to break down that cruel spirit of caste which unhappily prevails so extensively throughout the Northern States of America."

One colored student rose to National prominence. This was John M. Langston. He was born a slave in Virginia in 1820; at the age of six years he gained his freedom. He studied at Oberlin during the first days of its colored members. After a noted career, in which he was United States Minister and consul-general at Haiti, during 1877-1885, he was elected to the 51st. United States Congress. He is now dead. (28:421).

Due to the friendly way in which the white students treated their negro classmates, reports became prevalent among those of the pro-slavery sentiment in Ohio, and elsewhere, that amalgamation between the two races was practiced at Oberlin. An example of the strength of these accusations is seen in the following instance: Mr. Shipherd had a black servant girl who was in poor health. At the advice of a physician, Mr. Shipherd had Henry Fairchild, a brother of President Fairchild, take the girl for a carriage ride. On this the county-paper published an extra giving a vivid account of their version of the affair. In the next Cleveland paper's issue was an article headed. 'Marriage Extraordinary," with a story of the same character as the heading. This was copied in 40 other newspapers all over the United States. (25); (28).

A dismissed student wrote a book entitled, "Oberlin Unmasked." It contained a choice collection of venomous lies; lies of the filthiest order. It was believed by many, and aided in setting up a hatred of Oberlin on other grounds than those of anti-slavery. But Oberlin went calmly on her way, and in time

these false accusations were shown to be without support, and the good name of Oberlin flourished.

The only time blows were struck in the peaceful town of Oberlin in regard to slavery was when a negro struck Deputy United States Marshal Daton. Slave-catchers while stopping in Oberlin took up their lodgings at Wack's Hotel. This building was situated on the corner of South Main and Mechanic Streets. Wack, himself, was a strong Democrat and pro-slavery man. While these hunters were there, the anti-slavery people of the town kept a sharp watch on their movements. On even a hint that the Southerners were here, the streets would be patroled at night; sometimes from 15 to 25 men would be on guard. They kept a watch on Marshal Daton for he was a Democrat and friend of the South. Any visitor of his received attention. A mulatto, named Smith, so near white that one would not have known of his colored blood unless told of the fact, had escaped from bondage and taken up his abode in Oberlin. He obtained information that Marshal Daton was endeavoring to secure his recapture. One day while walking along the street near where now stands the Electric Car Waiting Room, Smith turned and spoke to Daton who happened to be behind him. An exchange of words ensued. Smith was carrying a heavy stick. Suddenly he struck the Marshal with this club. He continued to shower blows upon him till Daton turned and ran into the hotel where the present Park House is located. Smith was arrested. At the trial he produced letters from the South showing that Daton was in correspondence with slave-traders regarding the recapture of Smith. The Justice of the Peace let Smith go free, for said he, the mulatto had a right to protect himself. Smith continued to live in Oberlin for a time after the fight—the only fight that ever occurred in Oberlin over the slavery question.[12]

When Congress declared the Missouri Compromise void, Oberlin organized an emigrant-aid society, and sent forward several companies of emigrants from Oberlin and the surrounding country to pre-empt Kansas as a Free State. These people went prepared for troublesome times, and they did their part in making the State of Kansas a Free State for the Union. Several Oberlin ministers were in the rough scenes of the border

warfare. (23:157). They were sometimes hunted over the prairie like wild beasts.

The Oberlin Evangelist, June 4, 1856, states how a great mass meeting was held in the Chapel on the news reaching here that Lawrence, Kansas, was in ruins. "A hasty call on three hours' notice was sent out for a public meeting; the Chapel was crowded to its utmost capacity; a series of resolutions were adopted, expressive of the sense of the meeting in regard to the recent outrages,"—the assault upon Senator Sumner on the floor of the United States Senate; and the destruction of Lawrence, Kansas. The meeting was addressed by Rev. J. C. White, of Cleveland, Prof. J. Monroe, H. E. Peck, and T. B. Hudson.

The father of John Brown, of Harper's Ferry, was a trustee of Oberlin College. John Brown's younger brothers and a sister were students at Oberlin. John Brown, himself, surveyed lands belonging to the College in West Virginia. He was more or less associated with the Oberlin men in Kansas; but his raid at Harper's Ferry came as a total surprise to the majority of the folks of Oberlin. (23:157).

Shields Green, a colored man, once a student and citizen of Oberlin, was secured by Brown to aid in his undertaking. With Brown were two other Oberlin colored men, Leary and John Copeland. Leary was killed in the fight; John Copeland died on the gallows a few days after his leader. Green could have escaped but remained faithful to the man who had led him to the scene of death. It happened this way: When Brown surrendered, Green and one companion were in the mountains on some errand. On returning to the Ferry, they found that to effect a rescue would be impossible. Green's companion advised flight, and did himself escape; but Green replied that he preferred to "go down and die with the old man," and he died. He was executed at Charlestown, Virginia, December 2, 1859, the same day that John Copeland offered up his life in payment for his endeavor to help the people of his race to be freed from the bondage in which they suffered.[24]

Prof. Monroe made a journey to secure the remains of Copeland but was unsuccessful in his mission.[28]

In pro-slavery circles, Oberlin was suspected of complicity

in the Harper's Ferry Raid. The "Pennsylvanian," of Philadelphia, Penn., gives a good example of the Democratic opinion of Oberlin. It said: "Oberlin is located in the very heart of what may be called 'John Brown's tract,' where people are born abolitionists, and where abolitionism is taught as the 'chief end of man,' and often put in practice. * * * Oberlin is the nursery of just such men as John Brown and his followers. With arithmetic is taught the computation of the number of slaves and their value per head; with geography, territorial lines, and those locations of slave territory supposed to be favorable to emancipation; with history, the chronicles of the peculiar institution; and with ethics, and philosophy, the 'higher law,' and resistance to Federal enactments. Here is where the younger Browns obtain their conscientiousness in ultraisms, taught from their cradle up, so that while they rob slave-holders of their property, or commit murder for the cause of freedom, they imagine that they are doing God service." (23: 157-8).

The sentiment of Oberlin upon the raid of John Brown was set forth in the Oberlin Evangelist. It read: "We object to such intervention, not because the slave power has any rights which mankind, white or black, are bound to respect, and not therefore because it is properly a moral wrong to deliver the oppressed from the grasp of the oppressor; but entirely for other reasons. We long to see slavery abolished by peaceful means, and as a demand of conscience, under the law of righteousness, which is the law of God. Such a result would be at once glorious to Christianity, and blessed to both slave-holders and slaves. It is especially because an armed intervention frustrates this form of pacific, reformatory agency, that we disapprove and deplore it. Perhaps the day of hope in moral influence for the abolition of slavery is past already; we cannot tell. If so, it is a satisfaction to us to be conscious of not having unwisely precipitated its setting sun. If a mad infatuation has fallen upon Southern mind, and they will not hear the demands of justice, nor the admonitions of kindness, let the responsibility rest where it belongs. We would not have it so. 'We have not desired the woeful day, O Lord, thou knowest.'" (23:158-159).

In the Oberlin cemetery, near the southeast corner, stands

a monument of clouded marble, about 8 feet in height. On it is the inscription:

S. GREEN,
Died at Charlestown, Va., Dec. 2, 1859.
AGED 23 YEARS.

J. A. COPELAND,
Died at Charlestown, Va., Dec. 2, 1859.
AGED 25 YEARS.

L. S. LEARY,
Died at Harper's Ferry, Va., Oct. 20, 1859.
AGED 24 YEARS.

These Colored Citizens of Oberlin,
The heroic associates of the immortal
JOHN BROWN,
Gave Their Lives for the Slave.
Et Nunc servitudo etiam mortua est, laus Deo. (28:439); (24).

OBERLIN—WELLINGTON RESCUE CASE.

From 1835 to 1860, Oberlin was an important station of the Underground Railroad; but in all this time only two overt attempts were made at Oberlin to recover fugitives. The first of these occurred in 1841; the outcome of which was that the slaves, a man and his wife, escaped from the Elyria jail through an opening made by another prisoner, and the slave-hunters, one of whom died, gave up the pursuit. (This incident has already been told in detail in this article).

The second endeavor to retake a fugitive at Oberlin led to the following celebrated trial; a trial National in its importance.

A very ordinary event was the beginning of the whole affair; —John Price, a slave, escaped from Kentucky. He came to Oberlin where he lived six months or more without attracting any special notice.

Some time in January, 1856, a slave called John, a boy of about 18 years of age, escaped from the plantation of John G. Bacon. Bacon lived in the northern part of Mason County, Kentucky.

Late in August, 1858, Mr. Anderson Jennings, a neighbor of John's master, while pursuing some runaway slaves belonging

to his uncle's estate, stopped a few days in Oberlin. While here he learned of John Price. The astute Mr. Jennings at once saw that here was a good chance to secure an able-bodied slave at practically no expense. He forgot, evidently, that he was in Oberlin. From Richard P. Mitchell, a former employee of Mr. Bacon's, Jennings received a document purporting to be a duly drawn and certified power of attorney for capturing John. Jennings also went to Columbus, Ohio, and obtained a warrant for John from a man named Sterne Chittenden who certified himself to be a United States Commissioner. Jacob K. Lowe, a deputy for the United States Marshal of the Southern District of Ohio, was intrusted with the execution of the warrant. Lowe secured the assistance of Samuel Davis, an acting deputy-sheriff of Franklin county, and these three men with R. P. Mitchell, set out for Oberlin where they arrived Friday evening.

They took up their lodgings at an obscure inn where they would attract little attention; and the frequenters of this inn would favor their mission. They at once set about the work of capture. About 4 miles from town they found a man who would help them. This man had a son, a lad of about 13 years, who was to be the principal actor in the snaring of John. The scheme was arranged on Sunday. Monday morning the boy came into Oberlin with a horse and buggy. He found John and offered him large wages to go with him into the country to dig potatoes. It was now September the 13th, 1858. John accepted and rode off with the boy. They had proceeded but a mile or two out of town and were driving along at a leisurely gait, when a carriage driven at a fast pace overtook them. In the carriage were three men. They stopped the buggy, pulled John out and with threats and a great pointing of weapons, compelled him to enter their carriage, which was then driven rapidly off along the diagonal road two miles east of Oberlin which leads to Wellington nine miles south. The three men were the gallant Kentuckian, Mitchell, and his two official assistants. The boy was paid $20.00 for his share in the cowardly proceedings. So far their plan had worked out to a nicety; but from now on they were doomed to failure. Two men coming from Pittsfield met the carriage with its helpless victim. They reported the fact

in Oberlin. Some of the colored people had already been suspicious of the three strangers, and now the news spread like wild-fire; and without concerted action whites and blacks alike, started on a mad race toward Wellington. Every manner of conveyance was pressed into service. Probably 200 or 300 people went to Wellington that afternoon. Wellington also furnished its share of the crowd, so with those who fell in with the Oberlin folks along the way, the throng that surrounded the hotel of a Mr. Wadsworth, where the kidnappers held their prey, was of such numbers that it might well strike the slave-hunters with fear. They took John to a room in the garret to await the coming of the first train south. Though no gun was fired, quite a number appeared. The Kentuckian later claimed at least 500 guns were in evidence; other people to whom the weapons would have brought no harm estimated the number as about fifty. It is not certain that any of the weapons were loaded. The crowd had no leader and did not act in unison; but thronged the hotel rooms, as well as completely surrounding it outside. Some of them wished to let the man-hunters proceed with their captive; but the great majority insisted on a rescue. Different persons, among them a magistrate and a lawyer of Wellington, were shown the warrant in the hands of the marshal for the arrest of John. Patton, an Oberlin student, read the warrant of Lowe's to the crowd. Not one word of the power of attorney was heard of at Wellington. The throng still surrounded the hotel. The train for the south came. It puffed away again, and still the southerners with their prisoner were in the Wellington hotel, around which the crowd surged and murmured. The sun was about to set as a little group of men who had gathered around John in the garret of the hotel, started down the stairs. In their midst was John. Once outside the crowd passed him on to a buggy standing near, he was lifted in, the buggy started rapidly off towards Oberlin.

President Fairchild had been out driving with his family that afternoon. He never had seen or heard of John, but he too was now to be implicated in the affair. James Monroe and James M. Fitch went to Mr. Fairchild and asked him to take the poor fellow in. He did so. For three days and nights John

was hidden in a back room; but no suspicion fell upon the house and no United States Marshal ever made a call of inquiry. John Price was then sent on to Canada.

The Fugitive Slave law was supposed to be vital to the maintenance of the Union. This law had been violated; and since the Union must be upheld, the government at once set about to punish the offenders. A trial in the United States Court at Cleveland was determined on. Judge Willson brought the case before the grand jury with an elaborate charge. In conclusion, he said: "The Fugitive Slave law may, and unquestionably does, contain provisions repugnant to the moral sense of many good and conscientious people; nevertheless, it is the law of the United States, and as such should be recognized and executed by our courts and juries, until abrogated or otherwise changed by the legislative department of the government." The grand jury, influenced by this charge, made out 37 indictments against 24 citizens of Oberlin and 13 of Wellington. In both towns some of the leading men were included in these indictments. Among the Oberlin names were those of Prof Peck, of the College; J. M. Fitch, superintendent of the large Sunday-School; Ralph Plumb, a lawyer; and others of good standing.

No time was wasted. That same day, Marshal Johnson appeared in Oberlin to make the arrests. He went first to Prof. Peck and asked him to introduce him to the other men whose names were on his list. This was done, and the Marshal received the promise of each one to appear in court at Cleveland the next day. In Wellington, without the aid of Prof. Peck, the Marshal found but few of those he sought. These few he requested to appear in court the next day, and himself left for Cleveland empty handed.

At 10:40 A. M., December 7th., fifteen of the Oberlin men left the station amid the cheers of a large throng of ladies and gentlemen who had assembled to see them off. "A considerable number of the most prominent men of the village, including Mayor Beecher, volunteered to accompany the prisoners and see them comfortably quartered or safely returned. Marshal Johnson was in waiting when they left the cars, and pointing the prisoners to omnibuses bound for the Bennet House, directed

them to take good care of themselves and be ready for a call at 2 o'clock. After dinner, the Hon. R. P. Spalding, the Hon. A. G. Riddle, and S. O. Griswold, Esq., who had volunteered their services for the defense, free of charge, were called in for consultation. Soon after 2 o'clock, the parties proceeded to the courtroom." [3]

The trial was begun. Judge Spalding, acting for the defense entered a plea of not guilty, in behalf of all. He gave notice that the accused were ready, and requested trial immediately The District-Attorney, Belden, (he was assisted in the prosecution by Judge Bliss), begged that the trial be postponed till he could send to Kentucky for witnesses. He would need at least two weeks. "Judge Spalding thought that citizens of Ohio might think two weeks some time to lie in jail for the convenience of citizens of Kentucky." [3] The defendants declined to give bail and were finally allowed to leave upon their own recognizance of $1,000.00 each. The case was adjourned, first to March 8th and again to April 5th.

The "Felons' Feast" was the next event of public interest The Cleveland Morning Leader said of the affair: "A strange and significant scene for this enlightened and Christian age, and in our boasted Free Republic, transpired at the peaceful and God-serving village of Oberlin on the afternoon of Tuesday, the 11th of January, 1859. It was literally the 'Feast of Felons,' for the 37 good citizens of Lorain county, indicted by the Grand Jury of the United States District Court of Northern Ohio under the Fugitive Slave Act, for the crime of a conscientious and faithful observance of the Higher Law of the Golden Rule, sat down with their wives and a number of invited guests to a sumptuous repast at the Palmer House (in Oberlin). It was in the best sense a good social dinner, followed by a real 'feast of reason and flow of soul.' The entertainment was given by the indicted citizens of Oberlin to their brethren in bonds, as will be seen by the following card of invitation: At a meeting of the citizens of Oberlin who had been indicted by the Grand Jury of the United States District Court at Cleveland, charged with rescuing the negro boy John Price, held on the evening of January 4, 1859, it was *Resolved,* That it is expedient for the whole number of the

citizens of Lorain county who have been thus indicted, to meet for the purpose of consultation, and agreement as to the course to be pursued in the present emergency and for mutual comfort, and for this purpose to meet at the Palmer House on Tuesday, January 11, at 2 o'clock P. M., for dinner, and such other good things as may follow, and that we invite the citizens of Wellington implicated with us, to participate on the said occasion as our guests.[3]

"James M. Fitch, *Chairman.*
"Jacob R. Shipherd, *Secretary.*"

On the 5th of April, the trial commenced, and continued with slight interruptions up to the middle of May, when the cases were put over to the July term.

At 10 o'clock in the forenoon the case of Simeon Bushnell was called.

Before the organization of the jury, the District Attorney told the court that he should need a writ of habeas corpus and testification in behalf of Jacob K. Lowe, a witness for the government. For Lowe had been arrested at Grafton the evening previous on his way from Columbus to Cleveland, by Richard Whitney, a deputy-sheriff of Lorain county, under a warrant issued by the Lorain County Court of Common Pleas on an indictment for kidnapping which was found by the Grand Jury of Lorain county at its last session. Lowe was at this time confined in the Lorain county jail at Elyria. While the court was considering this matter, Lowe walked in, having been discharged on the bond of Mayor Sampsel, of Elyria. This bond was for $1,000.00, and Lowe was to appear for trial on the 17th of May following.

"The political aspect of the trial was very obvious in the fact that, with the exception of three members of the petit jury, every person connected with the court and prosecution, from the judge on the bench down to the claimants of the fugitive, was a member of the predominant party in the government. Within the court room the Fugitive Slave Law had full sway. Without

in the city and the State, the sympathies of the people were with the men in jail."[20] The prisoners were tried separately.

Some striking evidence in favor of the defense brought out by the lawyers for the prisoners was the following: Mr. Riddle, one of the Oberlin lawyers, said: "And will you mark it well, gentlemen, that this man Jennings, being only an agent and not the actual owner, although clothed by his power-of-attorney with full authority to arrest the boy with his own hands, or by posses, in his immediate presence, had no power to confer upon another, either by parole, or writing, the authority vested in himself to seize and arrest this boy John." "I know, gentlemen, that this man Mitchell, sent to Ohio for the express purpose of acting as a witness, says that the power of attorney was actually shown to John. A most gracious favor that, indeed, especially since in the next breath he tells us that he thinks John didn't read it, because he couldn't and hadn't time if he could; and Mr. Jennings swears positively that, at the time Mitchell avers he showed it to John (when the arrest was made), it was in his own (Jennings), breast pocket, in the Russia House (a hotel run by a Mr. Wack), at least two miles from the affecting interview between John and his old friend Mitchell. But who seizes John? It matters nothing in law, to be sure, since it is not Jennings, the only man who could seize him, or direct it to be done for him." "Can there be a particle of a reasonable doubt concerning the real capacity in which Lowe acted? He came as a marshal armed with a warrant to be served by a marshal, went out with his assistant and did serve it, and arrested John and held him as a marshal; which he cannot and dare not deny."

"The owner comes up here and swears that when he (John), left Kentucky at the age of 18, he was 5 feet, 8 or 10 inches high, and would weigh 165 or 170 pounds, and was copper colored. At Oberlin they arrest a John who is positively sworn by a number of unimpeachable witnesses, who have the best means of knowing, to have been not over 5 feet, 5 or 6 inches tall, weighing 135 to 140 pounds, and so black that he shone. Even Jennings swears the John they captured was black. If they say the Kentucky boy and the Oberlin boy were both Johns, they don't come any nearer; for the Kentucky boy was simply John,

while the Oberlin boy was John Price. In no solitary point do the descriptions agree. Slaves never have more than one name. They are all Boys till they get to be Uncles. Do we then, gentlemen of the jury, claim too much in claiming that the boy captured at Oberlin by no means answers to the description of the boy who ran away from John G. Bacon in 1856? Certainly, if evidence is worth anything, it has most clearly established a glaring discrepancy here." [3]

In spite of all this evidence and a great deal more to the contrary, Bushnell, the prisoner who first came up for trial, was found guilty, convicted and sentenced. He received in sentence 60 days' imprisonment, a fine of $600.00, and costs of prosecution. This latter fine (cost of prosecution), was understood to be about $2,000.00 more. Charles Langston was the next case called. The same jury was kept to try all the cases. The lawyers for the defense made a great outcry at this outrageous ruling, but the Court would not change. The defense then said that they would not call any more witnesses for the defense, and that they would not appear by attorney before such a jury, that the District Attorney could call up the accused as fast as he pleased. The Court then ordered the marshal to take the prisoners into custody. The Oberlin men agreed to give no bail, enter no recognizance, and make no promises to return to the court. They were therefore taken to the Cleveland jail where they were confined. They were well cared for, provided with apartments in that part of the jail kept as a private dwelling, were well fed, and treated kindly. Indeed, Sheriff Wightman treated them with every courtesy. Great numbers of people visited the prisoners. On Sunday afternoon April 17th, Prof. Peck spoke to the other prisoners and a throng of visitors who packed the jail yard and every point of vantage. Prof. Peck read his text from Matthew 9:9, then preached an able sermon.

The next conviction that was made before the cases were put over till the July term, was that of Charles H. Langston, a colored man. When asked if he had anything to say for himself, he made an eloquent speech, so thrilling to all those who heard that the courtroom thundered with the applause, and the sentence was made a light one. He concluded his speech with the fol-

lowing fiery declaration: "And now I thank you for this leniency, this indulgence, in giving a man unjustly condemned, by a tribunal before which he is declared to have no rights, the privilege of speaking in his own behalf. I know that it will do nothing towards mitigating your sentence, but it is a privilege to be allowed to speak, and I thank you for it. I shall submit to the penalty, be it what it may. But I stand up here to say, that if for doing what I did on that day at Wellington, I am to go in jail 6 months, and pay a fine of $1,000.00 according to the Fugitive Slave Law, and such is the protection the laws of this country afford me, I must take upon myself the responsibility of self-protection; and when I come to be claimed by some perjured wretch as his slave, I shall never be taken into slavery. And as in that trying hour I would have others do to me, as I would call upon my friends to help me; as I would call upon you, your Honor, to help me; as I would call upon you (to the District Attorney), to help me; and upon you (to Judge Bliss), and upon you (to his counsel), so help me God. I stand here to say that I will do all I can for any man thus seized and held, though the inevitable penalty of 6 months' imprisonment and $1,000.00 fine for each offense hangs over me. We have a common humanity. You would do so; your manhood would require it and no matter what the laws might be, you would honor yourself for doing it; your friends would honor you for doing it; your children to all generations would honor you for doing it; and every good and honest man would say, you had done right."[3] There was great and prolonged applause, in spite of the efforts of the Court and the Marshal, as Langston finished.

Langston was sentenced to a fine of $100.00, to pay the costs of prosecution, and to be committed to the jail for 20 days.

Langston's trial completed, the cases were, as has already been stated, postponed to the July term. Several of the indicted from Wellington entered a plea of nolle contendre, and were sentenced to pay a fine of $20.00 each, costs of prosecution, and an imprisonment of 24 hours in the jail; the same being considerable less than Langston had been sentenced to. One old man from Wellington wished to stay by the other unjustly imprisoned men so much, that it was nearly with entreaties that he

was at last prevailed on to go home. Thus all that remained were 14 Oberlin men, and those convicted. From the 15th of April on, they lay in jail.

The unjust ruling of the Court regarding the calling of a new jury, was afterwards recalled, and the prisoners were notified that their own recognizance would be accepted as before; but a false record had been made which put the defendants in the wrong and the court would not correct it. The discussion arose concerning the placing in jail of the prisoners (already described), when they were fulfilling what was expected of them when they gave their recognizance; for a person who has given his recognizance is not supposed to be placed in custody. The Oberlin men would not give bail or renew their recognizance, and therefore they remained in jail.

During the recess of the court an attempt was made to free the prisoners by appealing to the State courts. One of the Judges of the Supreme Court, granted a writ of habeas corpus ordering the sheriff to bring Bushnell and Langston before the court, that the reason for their imprisonment might be considered. For a week the case was argued before a full bench, at Columbus; but the court in a vote of three to two declined to grant a release.

President Fairchild points out that if the vote had gone in favor of the prisoners, Ohio would have been placed in conflict with the general government in defense of State Rights, and that "if the party of freedom throughout the North had rallied as seemed probable, the War might have come in 1859 instead of in 1861, with a secession of the Northern instead of the Southern States. A single vote apparently turned the scale." (23: 127, 128).

During this recess of the court, a mass meeting was held in Cleveland on May 24th, to express the sympathy that was felt for the imprisoned Oberlin men, and their condemnation for the Fugitive Slave Law. A great procession, with banners, passed through the streets, around the square, and in front of the jail. Many noted men addressed the people. Among these speakers were Joshua R. Giddings, and Salmon P. Chase. Mr. Chase was at this time Governor. Numerous resolutions were adopted in favor of State Rights. The closing feature of the

day were speeches in the jailyard by Langston, Peck, Fitch, and Plumb, in behalf of the prisoners. The meeting had no immediate result in favor of the prisoners, and no result was expected; but it was simply a declaration that the Fugitive Slave Law would no more be executed in Northern Ohio.

The Oberlin prisoners now settled down to the monotony of their confining life.

THE 'RESCUER.'

This publication was edited and printed in the Cleveland jail by the Oberlin prisoners. It is a paper about the size of the 'Saturday Evening Post;' (the exact dimensions are 18 inches x 12 1/2 inches); there are four pages in all; the print is clear and black; the letters are of medium size; the style of its contents is witty, bright, and very much in earnest; it makes interesting reading.[2]

Regarding the foundation of this paper let us quote from its own pages: "After the 'political prisoners' had remained in jail for 75 days, they began to find themselves possessed of 'thoughts that breathed and words that burned.' We not only wished to utter them, but we wished to print them. Could the thing be done? We looked around for printers and found among the prisoners two rusty and dilapidated 'typos,' one of whom had not handled a 'stick,' for 15 years. Would the sheriff allow us a corner of the jail for a printing-office? We asked him. Generous as ever, he replied, 'certainly and I'll help you too if I can.' 'Oh, where shall type be found?' we next inquired. The generous purchasers of our old printing office responded by lending us a font of small pica, and the liberal publisher of the Cleveland Daily Leader, (the very paper which would please you, gentle reader), added more, with other things. For a 'plane,' we used a carpenter's with the irons knocked out. A policeman's club answered for a 'mallet,' in taking 'proof,' and for other purposes we would select a pounding instrument from a large pile of shackles which lay at our feet. A fellow prisoner supplied us with 'side sticks,' 'quoins,' and 'reght,' made from a white-wood board. Another prisoner sawed up a fence board to make a 'rack,' (quite like a felon that, but we must settle it with the

Commissioners). For a 'shooting stick'—not the dangerous kind which we have understood 'rescuers,' sometimes use, but a simpler instrument,—we hewed out a piece of stone, and the door-stone answered for a 'table.'

"Thus furnished and with the ample space of just 5 feet by 10 feet for a printing-office, we proceeded to establish the 'Rescuer.' If we labor under difficulties it is but appropriate for 'Rescuer,' always do. We forgot to express regret that we could not procure italics. Many were needed. We must ask our readers to supply the emphasis according to taste."

The front page of the Rescuer, is like this:

THE RESCUER.

DELIVER HIM THAT IS SPOILED OUT OF THE HAND OF THE OPPRESSOR.

Vol. 1. Cuyahoga County Jail, July 4th, 1859. No. 1.

THE RESCUER
will be published at the
Cuyahoga County Jail,
every alternate Monday, by the
Political Prisoners there confined.
Five thousand copies of the first number
will be issued. Price 3 cents per copy.

The Rescuer was thus named, "because we rather like the idea it conveys. To be rescued is to be saved, often from serious evil, and even death. Many an innocent man would have gone into helpless slavery, but for the timely and determined aid of some friendly 'rescuer.' Indeed there is so much rescuing to be done, that we intend to spend our lives at the business."

In another part of the paper is an article by one of the prisoners which shows clearly what the imprisoned men thought of the people who were striving for their conviction. This gentleman writes: "That the Marshal and District Attorney felt refreshed when they fancied they could procure the indictment of 37 citizens of Lorain county, we cannot doubt, since the expected fees accruing to these great sticklers for obedience to law must reach thousands of dollars." He goes on to say, "it is well known that the names of such persons as it would be desirable to have indicted were furnished by a certain govern-

ment official, and that the names of Messrs. Peck, Plumb, and Fitch were on the lists, and further, that the Grand Jury took a recess for some ten days, after agreeing to inflict all except these three, to gain time to find some testimony against them. Not one of these men, viz., Peck, Plumb, and Fitch, were within nine miles of the spot when the rescue took place that day. Nor is there truthful testimony in existence on which any of them could be convicted by a court of justice. But the plan would utterly fail of its object if these devoted men should escape indictment, so the faithful jury met again, and one Bartholomew (a tin peddler, who has since been indicted for perjury committed in these trials, and left the State), was produced and furnished the required testimony, and thus the great object of the honorable court was secured, and these 'Oberlin Saints', as the District Attorney called them, were indicted. We cannot close this article without alluding to the fact, that Democrats were well known to have been actively engaged in the rescue, and were not indicted, while two of the indicted proving to be good Democrats, were nolled, on motion of the District Attorney. We should also state that the suits were commenced without the knowledge of the kidnappers, if their own statements can be relied on."

It thus appears that the trial was merely a political move of the Democrats against the Republicans and was not conducted solely in upholding the Fugitive Slave Law, as was claimed by the Democrats.

Regarding the life of the prisoners, the Rescuer tells us: "Our quarters are in the third story of the prison. We have a sitting room 18 feet by 12 feet; two bedrooms about 12 by 10 feet; and three cells of about the same size. Unfortunately for us, Ohio is guilty of keeping her incurably insane in her jails, and we have upon the same floor, with, and separated by a thin partition from ourselves, six lunatics, who, for a habit, 'bay the moon', early and late with howlings and ravings which do not promote the sleep of those who are near. Our lodgings are kept as neat as they can be by ourselves and our excellent jailer. Our food is good and is served with neatness. Our 'landlord', Sheriff Wightman is as noble a man as ever drew breath, and has treated us with fraternal kindness. Jailer (Henry R.) Smith

is like the sheriff. We daily maintain morning and evening prayers and divine worship twice on the Sabbath. We add to reading, writing, and waiting on our abundant company (which together has made an army not less than 4,000 strong), useful labor. Our shoemaker makes shoes; our saddler, harness; our cabinet makers, furniture; our lawyers, 'declarations'; and our ministers, sermons. Occupation keeps us contented".

On July 2d, 400 Oberlin Sunday-school children made a visit to the prisoners in the jail. Mr. Fitch was their superintendent and had held this position for 16 years. Now he was in jail his faithful little flock came loyally to him. The Oberlin Sabbath School was the invited guests of the Plymouth Church Sabbath School of Cleveland. There were brief addresses by the prisoners, and music. The program lasted for an hour.

The little people not only expressed their sentiments by visiting the prisoners in the jail, but they wrote their superintendent notes of indignation at his imprisonment and hope for his speedy release. Sixty letters were received by him in a single day. The contents of all these notes were much like the following examples: "I think it is very wrong for those horrid men to keep you there." Another wrote: "I have often wondered if those wicked men ever had such a faithful teacher as you have been to us to teach them the 'Golden Rule'."

The Rescuer had accounts of all the foregoing, and also many articles dealing with anti-slavery in other parts of the country. Only the one number was ever published as the prisoners were released before another alternate Monday, which was their day of publication, had come around.

The release of the Oberlin prisoners came about in the following manner: The four men who had endeavored to kidnap John Price were indicted in Lorain county for kidnapping. Their trial was set for July 6th, six days before the resumption of the trials in the U. S. court at Cleveland. The four slave-hunters were out on bail till near the time of their trial at Elyria. "Then a writ of habeas corpus was obtained from a judge of the United States court and an attempt was made to deliver up the four men to the sheriff of Lorain county that the writ might be served upon him, and his prisoners be released by order of the U. S.

judge." Various circumstances hindered this plan. The hour of trial was at hand, when the writ would be useless. The four men became frightened. Through their counsel, Hon. R. H. Stanton of Kentucky, the U. S. attorney was asked to capitulate with the counsel of the Rescuers. It was finally agreed to propose to the Oberlin lawyers that the suits on both sides should be dropped. This was consented to; the marshal went to the Cleveland jail and told the Oberlin prisoners that they were free. This took place on July 6th.

In the afternoon of the same day the Rescuers prepared to leave the jail. But just before they went out into the street, they stepped into the parlor of the jail, where were present their attorneys, Messrs. R. P. Spalding, A. G. Riddle, F. T. Backus, S. O. Griswold, Sheriff D. L. Wightman, Jailer J. B. Smith, and H. R. Smith who had rendered the Oberlin men so many services. With these gentlemen were their wives and numerous friends. Mr. Plumb, in behalf of the prisoners, presented the ladies for their husbands, each a beautiful silver napkin ring, fork and spoon, engraved with the initials of their husbands, and "From Rescuers; Matthew 25: 36."

About 5 o'clock a hundred guns were fired on the square, and several hundred people gathered at the jail to escort the Oberlin men to the depot. "At half past 5 the whole company, headed by Hecker's Band, marched two and two to the depot, through Superior and Water Streets, the band playing 'Hail Columbia', 'Yankee Doodle', etc." After speeches at the depot, the train pulled out for Oberlin amid the cheers of the great crowd who had come to see them off.

At Grafton, for in those days the railroad passed through that village, the wives of Peck, Plumb, Fitch, and Watson boarded the train, while the returning prisoners gave them cheer after cheer. As they drew into Oberlin the whole town appeared to be out to meet them. "A sea of heads could be seen extending for a long distance on both sides of the track."[3]

Nearly 3,000 people joined in the great shout of welcome that went up as the Rescuers came down the steps of the train. There were speeches and much cheering. Then the returned prisoners were escorted to the Church where until midnight the

people gave vent to their feelings in song, prayer, and talking over what had just transpired

The Oberlin-Wellington Rescue was a thing of the past, but its effects remained, for no more did the slave-hunter ever venture to pursue his victim into the domains of these people where Jennings and his associates had fared so badly. (2); (3); (23: 119-132); (20).

OBERLIN IN THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865.

The quiet of Oberlin was not to be left unbroken for many months to come. Fort Sumpter was fired upon. The United States Government issued a call for troops. The enemies of Oberlin tauntingly declared "Oberlin has been valiant in words, let us see how she will stand when it comes to deeds." They were not left long in doubt. Though the college authorities never urged the students to enter the army, still when the time came they offered no obstacles to their doing so of their own free will. The first act of the Faculty was to suspend the law, long in force, which stated that no student should be a member of any military company.[27]

Friday evening, April 19th, 1861, a meeting of the students was called in the College Chapel, and was addressed by speakers from each of the regular college classes who urged their fellow classmates to rally to the defense of the Union. A committee of five were appointed to get volunteers.

Saturday Prof. Monroe arrived from Columbus, for at this time he was a member of the State Senate. A meeting was called in the First Church and was addressed by Prof. Monroe and Col. Sheldon from Elyria. At the close of the meeting the muster-roll which lay on the pulpit, it was announced, was opened for enlistments. The great, crowded church was very still. It was no easy matter to enlist. To go from a town where peace and quiet reigned supreme, to the horrors of the battle field, and to go calmly, knowing what was before them, required a sublime devotion to the cause in which they were asked to enlist. If they went up there to the pulpit and placed their names on that roll of paper, they would do it not because honor and advance-

ment lay before them, but because they saw it to be God's Will. * * * And now a man got to his feet and started towards where lay that roll of blank paper. Then from all over the Church the boys came, and as they passed down the aisles friends leaned forward, some urging them on to do their duty, others to persuade them to stay at home by mention of parents whose sole support were these boys who, it was thought, were going to their death. The first to enroll was Lester A. Bartlett. Forty-nine names were secured that evening; $10,000.00 were pledged to equip and sustain the Company.

During the next day, Sunday, the enlistment continued and people thought it nothing strange that this should be so. At 8 o'clock, Monday morning, it was announced that no more could be received. Before noon the Company had become partially organized. The Faculty required all under 21 who wished to enlist, to first secure the consent of their parents or guardians. One hundred and thirty names had been enrolled but the number was cut down to 100 as that was the number of men required to form a single company. For two days college exercises were suspended and the class-rooms were occupied by ladies from the college and town who made such things as a soldier was supposed to need.

Copy of a letter written by W. W. Parmenter, Sergeant in Company C, to his mother telling of his enlistment, and of the sentiment of the college boys toward the war:

OBERLIN, April 22, 1861.

MY DEAR MOTHER:

Saturday evening the people here raised about $5,000.00 for the benefit of those who go from here, and agreed to take care of all families of persons who go. Mary (his sister) says you were afraid I would volunteer, and urged me not to do so. Your feelings are the main thing which hold me back, and so I wrote Saturday, before I received Mary's letter, asking the opinion of all of you at home upon this subject. Now I wish to say a little more about it.

The Government, which has protected our family for thirty years and has furnished the means for all our material prosperity and happiness, now calls for help, and calls loudly, too.

If you had stayed in England, some of your family would have

been obliged to go in the service of the Government long before this. Here only those are wanted who are willing; because it is expected all will be willing. Now, when the best men throughout the land are volunteering, would you wish a son of yours, no better than other sons everywhere, should stay at home, through fear or through your feeling on his account? I really would not disgrace you by thinking such a thing. This is not a mere sentiment of patriotism, either. Christian people throughout the North have been praying for this time, and God has answered their prayers. The conflict is now between Liberty and Slavery, Christianity and Barbarism, God and the Prince of Darkness. There never was a time when Christians were so united in one common cause, and there never was a cause which received so many prayers from praying people. No man is worthy the name of Christian, who shrinks from any duty which the Lord places before him. The Lord holds all nations in his hand, and will surely bring good out of these times, but He will try the faith of His people.

One company has been formed in Oberlin composed mainly of students and another is nearly formed. These two will contain about 160 men. A half dozen or more Theologues are going, as many Seniors, Juniors, also Sophomores and Freshmen, preparatory, and everybody.

Now, I have been wanting to know your opinion, but I cannot doubt what it would be. "Go, do your duty to your country, and God speed the right." I have long ago consecrated my life to the service of God, to do anything, to be anything, to suffer anything, for the furtherance of His cause upon earth. Now, when duty plainly calls, I cannot, I will not shrink, and I am going. This is just what I want to tell and have not known how. Now, rejoice, my mother, that you are able to do your share, and I know I shall have your prayers.

Our company is the first one formed, and is composed mainly of Christians.

Tutor Shurtleff (at that time an instructor in Oberlin College, later made Brevet Brigadier General), is our Captain.

I was the twenty-fourth to enlist. I subscribed Saturday night. About a hundred first joined, and then a committee of the Faculty cut off the number down to go. Notwithstanding my size, (he was short), I was kept on, which I consider somewhat of an honor. We have enlisted for three months, when we can be discharged if we wish it. The Seniors will be graduated just the same as if they stayed. We will first go to "Camp Taylor," Cleveland, where we will stay several weeks. There is where you may direct to me. Institution is doing nothing now. Those few who stay will organize and go when wanted. We have a brave, strong, God-fearing Company, and we are all in the best of spirits. We go to Cleveland, Wednesday morning. May God be with us and sustain us, and may His cause be glorified through us. Now I hope you will not be cast down by what I am doing, but rather

be thankful. Everyone will be comfortably furnished by the people here. I have no time to write more now. Write to me every day or two, some of you.

Your affectionate son,

WILLIAM.

On Thursday, April 25, the Company took the cars for Camp Taylor, Cleveland, Ohio. About the entire town went to the depot to see them off. Prof. Ellis and others made speeches, the sad farewells were said, and the train pulled out of the station, which in those days was situated a little east of where the freight depot now stands.

A second Company had been formed, composed of those who had not been able to enroll in this first Company. This second Company was not accepted and it soon disbanded.

The Company that left for Camp Taylor was mustered into the U. S. service for three months at Camp Taylor, April 30, 1861; that being the length of time for which they had enlisted. G. W. Shurtleff, a tutor of Latin in Oberlin College, was elected Captain. The Company was assigned to a place as Company C. in the 7th Regiment of Ohio Volunteer Infantry. This regiment was put under the command of Col. E. B. Tyler, Lieut. Col. Wm. R. Creighton, and Maj. Jno. S. Casement.

Sunday morning, May 5th, the regiment left Cleveland for Camp Dennison, Cincinnati. It reached Columbus at 4 P. M. and spent the night there; Company C, quartering in the State House. The following day at noon it arrived at its final destination, Camp Dennison. This camp occupies a beautiful valley on the line of the Little Miami Railroad, about 17 miles northeast of Cincinnati. The valley is slightly curved, more than a mile in extent, with the railroad bordering it on the east, while on the west lies a line of hills rising to 100 or 200 feet. Near the foot of these hills were the barracks, in a triple, compact row, with the kitchens for the soldiers immediately behind the barracks. Farther back were the tents of the officers. In front of the barracks was the parade ground; while on the east was an irregular range of hills.[40] In this valley were gathered about 8,000 men — Ohio Volunteers — undergoing drill, preparatory to the work which lay before them. The letters written from this camp to their

friends at home by the soldiers, have printed on the envelopes pictures of camp life, pictures of soldiers marching, of soldiers standing guard, etc.; making a rather striking contrast to the envelopes of to-day.

Although far from the influences of Oberlin, the Company held daily prayer-meetings, usually in the street between the barracks. Often men from outside companies would gather around, and much good was done to men other than of Company C. The Company was as a whole in favor of religion. It was divided into messes of about 16 men each. A chaplain was appointed to each mess. He saw to it that morning and evening service were observed. This practice was continued in most of the messes throughout the war. The Oberlin boys were ridiculed by a great number in the camp for their religious customs. The sneers of "There goes an Oberlinite," or, "There is one of that praying-company", were often heard. The Company was nick-named "The Praying Company". Indeed the contrast between the Oberlin men and the mass of the others in the camp was striking; the former, educated, cultivated; with genteel, polished manners; none of them drank, only a few smoked or chewed; and the majority of the volunteers from the other companies, common, uneducated, crude and rough of manner, swearing, drinking, smoking, chewing. But despite the jeers hurled at them, the Oberlin men continued to live upright, Godly lives. One of the statements made of Company C, was that, "such soldiers could never be valiant in battle, nor endure the severities of military service, in the camp and on the forced march." (7:6, 7). These statements were never made after the first battle, and the first few marches, however.

In the latter part of May, the Governor of Ohio, invited the 7th Regiment to re-enlist for a three years service. He promised to date their muster roll back to their first enlistment for three months. This promise was later broken by the Government, the regiment not being allowed to be mustered out until July 6, 1864.

On May 23d, at 9 P. M., the Company was marched out of the lines and up the grassy hill at the east of the camp. Here they were addressed by Gen. Cox and Prof. Monroe with regard to entering the service for three years. The question was

a serious one, for to re-enlist meant to give up one's aims and chances of the success in life which were only just opening to them. The Seniors were to be graduated the same as though they had remained in Oberlin; this had been promised on the first enlistment. But some had parents dependent on them; some were not fitted physically to endure the hardships of a prolonged campaign; and thus for one reason and another some of the men did not re-enlist when they were a few days later given the chance. Most of these men who did not re-enlist in Company C did so in some other company before the war closed. Those who did re-enlist were given a furlough of 10 days. When they returned to camp they brought with them enough new recruits to fill the company to the required number. In the re-election of officers that took place, G. W. Shurtleff was once more made Captain. (7: 9).

The Regiment remained at Camp Dennison until June 26, when they were ordered to Western Virginia. Then commenced for Co. C the hardships of a field campaign. They made many forced marches, but with the exception of the wounding of Corporal Adams while on picket, the Company had not come under fire when on the 15th of August it encamped at Cross Lanes on a beautiful, sloping meadow.

Here the regiment remained drilling until August 21st, when in the evening an order was received to march to Gauley Bridge. In an hour they were on the way. At 10 A. M. of the next day they reached Twenty-Mile Creek, where a halt was made. At this place the 7th Ohio encamped until the 24th, notwithstanding the fact that Gen. Cox, at Gauley Bridge, ordered it back at once to Cross Lanes.

The reason for these marches and counter-marches was this: Cross Lanes was the point of intersection of the road from Summersville to Gauley Bridge with one from Carnifex Ferry which is on the Gauley River near the mouth of Meadow River. The 7th Ohio was withdrawn to Twenty-Mile Creek to guard a road passing to the rear of the force under Gen. Cox. As soon as the attack which had been made on Cox was repulsed, the 7th had been ordered back to Cross Lanes to watch the roads and river crossing there. Tyler, Colonel of the 7th Ohio, delayed

fulfilling this last command by remaining at Twenty-Mile Creek to issue shoes and clothing to his men. When he did approach his former position at Cross Lanes he found that Floyd, the Confederate general, was reported to have crossed the Gauley River at Carnifex Ferry. Without waiting to reconnoitre, Tyler retreated several miles to Peter's Creek. It was afterward learned that Floyd had crossed by raising two small flatboats which Tyler had sunk but had not entirely destroyed. He used these as a ferry, crossed the river and entrenched where he was afterward attacked by Rosecrans. In the hope that only a small force had made a crossing, Cox ordered Tyler to "make a dash at them". Cox writes, "I added, 'It is important to give them such a check as to stop their crossing.' Meanwhile my advance-guard up New River was ordered to demonstrate actively in front and on the Sunday Road, so as to disquiet any force which had gone towards Tyler; and I also sent forward half a regiment to Peter's Creek, (6 miles from Cross Lanes), to hold the pass there and secure his retreat in case of need. But Tyler was new to responsibility and seemed paralyzed into complete inefficiency. He took nearly the whole of the 25th to move slowly to Cross Lanes, though he met no opposition. He did nothing that evening or night, and his disposal of his troops was improper and outpost duty completely neglected." (29: 78-97).

Regarding the final advance of the 7th Ohio to Cross Lanes, Sergt. W. W. Parmenter writes in his diary: "We went on and reached Cross Lanes just before dark. Several companies were already there. In the advance a hanger-on to the regiment, who was ahead, was shot by the enemy's pickets. At Cross Lanes seven or eight slaughtered oxen were captured. This to me was sufficient evidence that there was a large force of the enemy somewhere near. When our companies all came up, we had a force of about 600 men. Company A went up a hill near, and exchanged several shots with some of the enemy on a neighboring hill. Soon after dark, pickets were sent out, and the companies were lodged around, several companies in a church, and the rest scattered around in little log houses some distance from each other. It was difficult keeping warm. The house our company

was in was overflowing, and some had to stay outdoors. These last built a fire along towards midnight and afterwards were comfortable. In the morning we were up bright and early. Two wagons had come on in the night, and we had pilot bread, beef, and roasted ears of corn for our breakfast. While we were in the midst of this work, some roasting pieces of beef, others cooking corn or filling canteens and all as little prepared as could be, firing was heard in the direction of the river. Shots which at first were scattered, soon became rapid and continuous, and evidently near at hand. We had no time to form the Company, but pushed off rapidly towards the firing in any order we chanced to fall in. Company A was ahead of us on the same road a few rods, having slept near us in this direction. We had gone but a short distance, when we began to receive the fire of the enemy who were advancing at a double quick through the open fields and woods to the northeast of the road." [15] (End of Parmenter quotation.)

In the gray light of the dawn the lines of gray clad men, moving swiftly forward in perfect order, could be distinctly seen. Over the sombre ranks a battle flag, slanting forward, gave a touch of color to the grayness of the scene. Down the road came Major Casement, riding at breakneck speed. "Company A, take that hill"; "Company C, take that hill", he cried, pointing to two hills about 200 yards distant from the road. Company C turned off the road, and at a run made for the ridge. Across an open field they rushed, here receiving the first severe fire from the enemy. They climbed a fence and started to ascend the hill which had a gradual slope towards the road. A battalion of rifle-men, concealed in a cornfield on the same side of the road as Company C, and close at hand, opened with deadly effect. The bullets which before had whizzed by their ears, now rained on them in a continuous stream, tearing the ground all around them, and wounding many. Jeakins was the first one struck. He had his arm shattered. Almost immediately, Sheldon staggered backward, a bullet through his breast. Kellogg caught him and helped him and Jeakins part way up the hill to a wheat stack. "Sheldon, when last seen, was lying on his face spitting blood. He was no doubt mortally wounded." (18a).

The rebels had set up a fiendish yelling, and this added to the deafening roar of the musketry, made the din indescribable. Biggs of Elyria, dropped part way up the hill. Burns, though with a ball through his body, struggled to the crest of the ridge and fired his gun. Here and there a man would stop, turn, and with deliberate aim, return the fire of the enemy. At last the crest was reached. The Company took shelter behind what few trees and stumps there were; many laid down on the further side of the crest, thus escaping to some extent the storm of bullets which was continuously poured into them. And now they added to the uproar, their muskets, loaded with one bullet and three buck-shot, making a great crash at each discharge. A wall of grayish smoke rose before the Company; now and then, a gust of air rent the cloud apart, sending it drifting upward in feathery, fog-like streamers. Through the rift the dense masses of the enemy could be plainly seen. They fired by battalion, pouring in a ceaseless hail of lead. Then the smoke would settle down; a wall of gray, pierced and slashed by yellow flame, would rise before the regiments. Avery, squatting behind a stump, was just aiming his musket when a bullet hit his shelter, sending chips of wood flying in his face. He went white with fright, but fired his gun. Collins was shot through the body, and fell mortally wounded. A detachment opened upon the little band from a hill close on their right. At first it was thought to be Company A, mistaking Company C for the enemy, but it soon became apparent that Company A had retreated and their places been taken by the Confederates. While ascending the hill, heaving firing had been heard over by the church where the other companies had bivouacked, but this had now ceased, and all was still save where on the hill Company C withstood the Rebel Army. The men dropped oftener now. Jones received a ball through the lungs and fell severely wounded; Sergt. Morey was struck by a ball on the side of the head, cutting through the flesh but not injuring the skull; Noble, of Bowling Green, received a flesh wound in the leg; Claghorn had the face of his thumb shot away; Stephen Cole had a slight flesh wound in the thigh. Lieut. Cross was hit in the left arm, wounding him severely. He cried out, "Boys, I'm hit; but fire away, don't mind me." Sergt. Orton

while stepping from behind a tree to fire, was shot through the thigh, and fell, dangerously though not mortally wounded. He shouted to Captain Shurtleff that the enemy were coming over the hill to the right. Shurtleff stepped out from behind the tree which a minute before had sheltered Orton. A volley of bullets whizzed by him on every side; one passed through his blouse. But the brief glance was enough. On an eminence to the right was a detachment of the enemy who were advancing, firing as they came. The position was now well nigh untenable. Advancing on their front was one regiment; on the right another, together with a battery of artillery; still another over on the left at the corners cutting off retreat by the road; and several companies over by the church to the left of their rear. They were nearly surrounded. The rest of the 7th Ohio had retreated, and were entirely separated from Company C, who were keeping back a full regiment commanded by Col. Heath, an old army officer. In a moment more the position would be swept by the cannon of the foe. Shurtleff turned to Sergt. Parmenter, whom he considered the best drilled soldier in the Company, and one of the best in camp. "Sergeant, the enemy are pressing upon our right flank, the regiment I think must be retreating, what do you advise, shall we hold our position and all die, or shall we retreat?" Parmenter was as cool as though at drill. "I see no advantage, Captain, in fighting so strong a force." He spoke very calmly. Without waiting longer, Capt. Shurtleff ordered a retreat. "So great was the din, and so much were the boys interested in what was going on, that after the captain had started with most of the Company,"[15] Parmenter had to run over to the left and call several by name to induce them to leave. They retreated in good order through the woods to the rear. The enemy supposing they had gone to the left fired several rounds of grape-shot in that direction, wounding slightly one of their own men.

On the field of battle were left Cross, Orton, Jeakins, Sheldon, Collins and Jones, all severely wounded. The Company, with Shurtleff and Parmenter at the head, wandered for some hours in the woods. At length about noon (the Company retreated into the woods about 6 A. M.), while going along single file up a moderate hill, they came suddenly upon half a regi-

ment of the enemy, and were within four paces of them before they made them out. They were ordered to surrender. After parleying a sufficient length of time to enable those of Company C hidden by the hill to escape, Capt. Shurtleff surrendered with 14 of his Company. The men not captured made their way back to the main Union Army as best they could. They suffered extreme hardship and in spite of the greatest carefulness, some of them were taken prisoner.

Joseph Collins died the day after the battle. He was buried on the field. Burford Jeakins lived until 10 o'clock Sunday evening, Sept. 22d., when he, too, passed away. Lieut. Cross, Sergt. Orton, Sheldon, and L. J. Jones were recaptured by Gen. Rosecrans in the battle at Carnifex Ferry, Sept. 10.

After the stragglers had all come into camp, it appeared that 29 of Company C had been taken prisoner. In the entire Union forces engaged in this battle 15 were killed and 50 wounded, the latter with some 30 others falling into the enemy's hands. The Confederates had in the action about 4,000 men. They claim a loss of 125. (13); (27); (4p); (4q); (18a); (21); (29: 78-97); (15); (7: 12-14); (23: 164).

The "Dispatch", a Richmond newspaper, in its Sept. 7th issue, had the following letter from a correspondent with Floyd's Command. It is dated Camp Gauley, Floyd's Brigade, Aug. 28, 1861. "On yesterday, I attended one of our Yankee captain prisoners to the hospital to see the wounded men. It is on the opposite side of the Gauley, distant, two miles. His meeting with his men was quite affecting. Shaking them by the hand, he said he was glad to see them, 'under any circumstances.' He was a tutor in one of the Ohio colleges, and among the most dangerously wounded were four of his old scholars. One of them died before we left, and some of the rest will".

The prisoners not in the hospital were put in an enclosure of rails, like so many cattle. August 28th, the day of their College Commencement, officers tied their arms preparatory to the journey to a southern prison. They were poorly fed and suffered from exposure. They were marched on foot, and transported by rail to Richmond, Virginia. Many of their guards wanted nothing better than a chance to shoot the Oberlin men.

As Mr. Stephen Cole expresses it, "They thought we had horns, and hair on our teeth." But before the journey was completed these guards were the best of friends with their prisoners. They admitted they did not know what the principle was for which they were fighting. All they knew was what their politicians had told them, and that the Northerners were invading their land.

In Richmond they were put in tobacco houses where they remained until they were taken to more Southern prisons. A good number of the Oberlin boys were sent to Parish Prison, New Orleans.

It is interesting to note the difference in account of the version in Parmenter's diary, and that in a New Orleans newspaper, concerning the entrance of the Union prisoners into New Orleans. Sergt. Parmenter writes, and we can easily believe his story to be the true one: "At the depot was a battalion of soldiers, a large force of police, and an endless crowd of people. We were mustered from the cars and arranged in fours, a rank of soldiers marching each side of us. In advance was a troop of cavalry, followed by a body of infantry. In the rear was a large force of infantry. Outside of the soldiers were the police. In this order they marched us under the broiling sun, through a number of the principal streets, so as to give the immense crowds a chance to look at us. I noticed in passing, the famous St. Charles Hotel and other buildings. The soldiers who escorted us were men finely uniformed and well drilled, in fact the best appearing body of soldiers I had seen in the Confederacy. There was a good deal of hurrahing and jeering at us. Many looked at us as the most arrant cowards, and thought they could see in our features marks of all kinds of depravity. One Texas ranger remarked that he could whip fifty such as we were. Before we reached our destination we were heartily tired of the turn out. After some time we approached a large grey building with grates to the windows which we soon learned was the famous Parish Prison, our destination. We were marched in through a grated door, into a vestibule, thence through a door with 'Assault and Battery' over it, into a yard about 100 feet long by 25 feet wide. At one end was

an apartment labelled 'Kitchen'; in another was a hydrant and tank. In three sides were galleries, 3 stories high, opening into cells. The fourth side is a wall as high as the building. So we seem to be in a pit, the only opening being at the top. We were soon sent to our cells. In the one I occupy, there are 24. The size of it is about 12 x 18 feet. There are two little semi-circular ventilators (grated), and a grated hole in the heavy door. The walls are solid, apparently stone." In this place the men remained from Oct. 1, 1861, to Feb., 1862, when they were removed to Salisbury, N. C., for exchange.

Let us now consider the viewpoint of the people of New Orleans as expressed in one of their papers, a clipping of which was brought North in Parmenter's pocket-book after his death, when his belongings were carried to his relatives. The item in brief is the following: An enormous crowd waited all morning at the depot to see the arrival of the Yankee prisoners. At last a train drew in. Among the ordinary passengers were several Confederate soldiers in uniform. The crowd took these to be the guard, and the passengers to be the prisoners. They began, forthwith, to yell at the passengers and to make uncomplimentary remarks about their looks. They soon learned, however, that this train contained entirely Southern people and that their remarks had been wasted on their own partisans. As the morning wore on some bales of cotton caught fire, the crowd not being careful where they threw their cigars. The fire department was called, but before they arrived the fire was extinguished. They waited with the others to see the prisoners, and thus helped swell the numbers of the crowd. The special train arrived about noon; and under a heavy guard the Yankees were marched through the streets to the prison. On their debarkation from the train, the people crowded forward to get a glimpse of these curious men. The crush became terrific. The newspaper states that "Numerous hoops exploded" in the jam. It further says that as the Yankees passed, a silent decorum was maintained by the onlookers. This last is somewhat different from the account given in Parmenter's diary. It illustrates, however, the difference in the point of view between the spectator and the captive.

While in Parish Prison the men were not half fed. They were so crowded in their cells (where they were locked during the night, in the day they were allowed in the court), that they had to lie spoon fashion. There were hardly any blankets among them, and their bodies became nearly raw from lying on the hard floor. In the morning besides washing in the tank in the yard, one of the necessary things to do, was to turn one's clothes inside out and kill the vermin which had collected since a like operation the day before. The surroundings were unhealthy. Parmenter died of typhoid fever, and was buried in the cemetery of St. Vincent de Paul in New Orleans.

While in Parish Prison the Oberlin boys helped edit a paper. They wrote on any piece of paper they could find, then these slips were kept after being read, and on being restored to freedom they were published in a book, called "The Stars and Stripes", which was the name it bore while only written on fragments of paper. It was published in the prison weekly. The organization getting this paper out was the society of the "Union Lyceum of Parish Prison, New Orleans". This society held debates. These debates were on subjects such as "Resolved, That the present war will be ended by the Spring of 1862." In the Nov. 28, 1861, issue, we find this announcement: "There will be a prayer-meeting in cell No. 4 on Sunday A. M., at 9 o'clock; and in cell No. 2 Wednesday at 2 P. M. A Bible-class is held in cell No. 8 each Sunday at 1 o'clock P. M. All are invited to attend." We read in a later number, "One of the most beautiful sights we have ever witnessed is to be seen every Sunday morning in one of the cells of this prison where formerly nothing but blasphemy and vileness ascended and reached the ears of the Recording Angel; now in this place a band of devoted disciples of Christ meet and adore their Redeemer where the name of the Deity is only mentioned with reverence and love."

We thus see that even in prison, Oberlin did not cease in its works of good to her fellow men.

Some of the Oberlin men studied French, German, etc., from books which they had been able to secure. They made bone ornaments for which the more wealthy Southerners paid

a high price. Military companies were formed to give the men exercise.

The heading of the "Stars and Stripes", in one of the issues is the following: "The Stars and Stripes. A Weekly Publication Devoted to Literature, Science, the Arts, and General Intelligence. Published every Thursday in the Parish Prison, New Orleans. Price, Attention."

On May 21st, at Salisbury, N. C., they were paroled, promising not to fight against the Confederacy in any way whatsoever until they had been exchanged. The war went on and it was not long before these men had been exchanged and joined their Company or one in some other regiment. In the fighting that ensued Company C was ever in the fiercest of the action, always bearing itself with marked credit.

Let us take a look at what was transpiring in Oberlin while her boys were engaged in the desperate struggle with Slavery.

The first war funeral in Oberlin was for a member of the class of '65. His class-mates, such as were there, sat in a body behind the mourners; and his intended bride, in deep mourning, sat with the family. In the next few years, death was to be a not unfrequent visitor to the quiet town.

The girls of the town and college, as well as the older ladies, did their share towards the winning of the conflict. They made woolen socks, in the toe of each of which they tucked a piece of paper bearing the name, address and some message to the boys so far away.[6] They also scraped lint for the wounded, of whom there were far too many.

One day while the ladies were thus working in the Chapel, a great commotion suddenly started out of doors. It was the only mob that Oberlin has ever seen. A man shouted, "Hurrah, for Jeff Davis". He was seized. A crowd sprang up from nowheres. A rope was called for, but fortunately for him, a flag was brought instead. He was made to carry the flag, and hurrah for Lincoln, much to the delight of the crowd.[6]

The girls of those days had privileges such as have never been granted before or since. There were nights when not only the 7 o'clock rule was suspended but 10 o'clock had no meaning to them; when great mass-meetings in the First Church or

demonstrations in "Tappan Hall Yard", held the crowds till near mid-night.[6]

While these events were occurring in Oberlin, Company C was rapidly becoming a veteran body of troops. Among the battles in which they took part are Winchester, Port Republic, Cedar Mountain, Chancellorsville, Antietam, Gettysburg, Lookout Mountain, Mission Ridge, Ringgold, and Resaca. (27). During these three years 150 *students* were at various times members of this Company. (23: 167). Of these only three died of disease; two of them of typhoid fever in Parish Prison, New Orleans. Twenty-eight fell in battle and 15 were discharged on account of serious wounds. It was their temperate habits and upright lives that kept them so free from the ravages of disease. They remained in action as well as in name throughout the entire war, "The Praying Company". The history of this company in summary is this: "The whole number of names on the three-months and three years rolls, is 179. The number on the three years roll, is 148. The Company marched 2,400 miles, and traveled by rail and steamers 4,800 miles. It encamped 194 times. Thirty-one men lost their lives by battle, 7 by disease and one was drowned." (7: 83). This death by drowning was especially sad. Trembley, Company C, had fought in every battle, except one, in which his regiment had been engaged, and had suffered no harm. He was on his way home. He had written to his mother telling her to worry no more, for their fighting was all over, and he would soon be with her at home. A few miles below Cincinnati, he slipped on the deck of the steamer, fell into the river and was drowned. His comrades recovered the body and bore it to his mother. (23: 172).

Others beside those in Company C. went from Oberlin and did their full share in the war. A company from Oberlin joined the 41st Ohio Volunteer Infantry; and about this same time, quite a number of Oberlin townsmen and students entered the Second Ohio Cavalry. Among these men was A. B. Nettleton. He started as a private, rose to the command of his regiment, and helped win the battle of Five Forks.

In 1862, another company went from Oberlin. They joined the 103d O. V. I. This same year, when Kirby Smith threatened

Cincinnati, nearly all the college students who were able to bear arms, with many of the Preparatory students and citizens of the town, marched on a few hours' notice to the defense of the city. When the peril had passed they returned to Oberlin. The year that Gen. Banks was driven down the Valley and Washington was in danger, a company went directly from Oberlin to the scene of action. They had several skirmishes, and at last were included in the surrender of Gen. Miles at Harper's Ferry.

In 1864, when Grant was smashing his way toward Richmond, Oberlin sent a second Company C into the field. They formed part of the 150th Regiment of National Guards. They were almost the only company of the National Guards in Virginia who were under fire, for the Oberlin Company helped repel Gen. Early's attack upon the fortifications near Washington. Besides these companies which went from Oberlin, every call for troops was answered by students and citizens. They went as privates and as officers. The alumni of the college enlisted from all over the land. They served as officers, chaplains, and privates. One, J. D. Cox, rose to the rank of Major General.

During 1861, the first year of the war, out of 166 men in the four college classes, 100, or 60%, were in the army as soldiers. Of alumni and undergraduates 197 were in the army. Among these were two Major-Generals, one Brig.-General, ten colonels, and officers of lower rank in larger proportion. Taking graduates, undergraduates, and preparatory, it is estimated that at least 850 Oberlin College and Academy men served at one time or another in the army.

Of those who went from Oberlin, about one in every ten never returned.

We have spoken of Trembley's death as he was nearing Cincinnati on his journey home. Another loss at the final moment should be mentioned. It is that of Tenney, of the Second Ohio Cavalry, who was killed by almost the last shell that exploded in the vicinity of Richmond. (27); (23: 172).

The Chapel bell tolled ceaselessly. Hour after hour, hour after hour, it sent its solemn message out over the town. The flag on the corner was at half mast. Still the bell tolled on, and

the people of Oberlin with one accord, unsummoned, gathered at the Church to weep and pray. Lincoln was dead.[6]

And now the War was over. The armies disbanded. The men came home.

At Oberlin the number who returned were pitifully few compared to those who had gone, and of these few many were maimed and crippled for life. But they did not complain; they had saved the Union; they had freed the slave, and in so doing, had completed Oberlin's part in the Slavery Conflict.

REFERENCES TO OBERLIN'S PART IN THE SLAVERY CONFLICT.

Primary References.

Reference Number.

1. Oberlin Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society Records, Sept. 14, 1851-Aug. 13, 1853.

2. Oberlin — Wellington Rescue Case: The Rescuer, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 4, 1859. Cuyahoga County Jail. Published by the Prisoners who assisted in the rescue of a fugitive slave at Wellington in 1859.

3. History of Oberlin-Wellington Rescue, By J. R. Shipherd.

4. Oberlin Evangelist, Vol. 1 — 21.

The Oberlin Evangelists, from which material has been especially procured are the following:

4a. Oberlin Evangelist, July 16, 1856; An address before the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Oberlin, delivered May 13, 1856, by Prof. J. H. Fairchild.

4b. Same as 4a.

4c. Oberlin Evangelist, Jan. 8, 1850.

4d. Oberlin Evangelist, Sept. 11, 1839.

4e. Oberlin Evangelist, Aug. 15, 1855.

4f. Oberlin Evangelist, Aug. 15, 1855.

4g. Oberlin Evangelist, Aug. 18, 1852.

4h. Oberlin Evangelist, Aug. 15, 1860.

4i. Oberlin Evangelist, Dec. 20, 1843.

4j. Oberlin Evangelist, Jan. 30, 1856.

4k. Oberlin Evangelist, July 16, 1856.

4l. Oberlin Evangelist, Jan. 30, 1856.

4m. Oberlin Evangelist, Jan. 19, 1848.

4n. Oberlin Evangelist, June 4, 1856.

4o. Oberlin Evangelist, June 5, 1861.

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4p. Oberlin Evangelist, Sept. 11, 1861.

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5. Oberlin Church History (Early Annals of the Oberlin Church), By Rev. D. L. Leonard.

6. Reunion of the War Classes, Held at Oberlin, Ohio, June 20-24, 1903. "The Women of the War," pp. 5-8. By Mrs. L. A. M. Bosworth.

7. History of Company C, 7th Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry, By Theodore Wilder.

8. Oberlin and Its College (A newspaper item of Aug. 9, 1876).

9. Newspaper Articles on Early Oberlin, By Mrs. M. E. P. Rose.

10. Soliciting Circular issued in 1860. (Soliciting funds for Oberlin College).

11. General Catalogue, 1833-1908; including an account of the principal events in the History of the College.

12. Interview with Mr. W. T. Henderson of Oberlin, on the Colored People of Early Oberlin.

13. Interview with Mr. Stephen Cole of Oberlin, on Company C, of which he was a member.

14. The Stars and Stripes in Rebeldom. A Series of Papers written by Federal Prisoners (Privates) in Richmond, Tuscaloosa, New Orleans and Salisbury, N. C.

15. Diary of Sergt. W. W. Parmenter of Co. C, 7th Reg. O. V. I. (Written in prison in Richmond and New Orleans).

16. Letter from Sergt. W. W. Parmenter to his mother, telling of his enlistment in Co. C, at Oberlin; and interview with Miss Parmenter.

17. Clipping from a New Orleans newspaper giving an account of the arrival of the first Yankee prisoners in that city. (Among these prisoners were many from Co. C, of Oberlin). This clipping was found in Sergt. Parmenter's wallet after his death, and brought North with his wallet.

18. Items in the Oberlin News, regarding events in the war in which Oberlin men took part. (These items were printed at the time).

18a. In Oberlin News, a letter dated Gauley Bridge, W. Va., Sept. 1, 1861, written to the Junior Class of Oberlin College, by J M. Ginn.

19. Interview with Prof. Root of Oberlin College.

20. The Underground Railroad, By J. H. Fairchild. Tract No. 87, Vol. 4, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

21. A newspaper clipping, a letter dated Charleston Jail, Dec. 1, 1861, written to Tutor Merrell, by Capt. Shurtleff.

22. Clipping from the "Dispatch," a Richmond newspaper, in the Sept. 7, 1861, issue of this paper.

Secondary References.

Reference Number.

23. Oberlin: The Colony and the College, By Rev. J. H. Fairchild.

24. Oberliniana, By Shumway and Brower.

25. Historical Sketch of Oberlin College, By Fairchild.

26. Oberlin: Its Origin, Progress and Results, By Fairchild.

27. Oberlin and the American Conflict. An address delivered before the Alumni of Oberlin College, at their reunion, Wednesday, Aug. 23, 1865. By Prof. J. M. Ellis.

28. The Story of Oberlin, By Leonard.

29. Military Reminiscences of the Civil War, Vol 1. By J. D. Cox.

30. Jubilee Notes, 1883-1884.

31. Oberlin Jubilee, 1833-1883, Gen. Cox's address.

32. Oberlin Jubilee, 1833-1883, Narrative of the Personal Experiences of the Rev. Amos Dresser.

33. How the Way Was Prepared, By Calvin Fairbank.

34. Prison Life and Reflections, By George Thompson.

35. Oberlin Unmasked, By De'lazon Smith.

36. The American Ten Years' War, By Snider, D. J.

TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

May 31, 1911.

The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society was held in the Hunter Society Room, Page Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, at two o'clock P. M., Wednesday, May 31, 1911. The following members were present:

Prof. M. R. Andrews, Marietta,
Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester,
Mr. A. J. Baughman, Mansfield,
Mr. H. E. Buck, Delaware,
Mr. C. H. Gallup, Norwalk,
Hon. J. W. Harper, Cincinnati,
Mr. Almer Hegler, Washington, C. H.,
Prof. W. C. Mills, Columbus,
Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus,
Mr. L. P. Schaus, Columbus,
Mr. Z. T. Smith, Upper Sandusky,
Dr. H. A. Thompson, Dayton,
Dr. H. O. Whittaker, New Burlington,
Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus,
Dr. G. F. Wright, Oberlin,
Mr. W. Z. Zuck, Columbus.

Messages of regret, because of their inability to attend the meeting, were received from M. B. Bushnell, B. F. Prince, R. E. Hills, D. J. Ryan, N. B. C. Love and C. S. Dana.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Dr. G. Frederick Wright, who stated that the first thing in order would be the reading of the minutes of the last Annual Meeting.

Secretary Randall said he would follow his habitual custom in regard to the reading of the minutes by simply referring the members of the society to the published report of the meeting in our annuals. From the written report which he had in hand detailing at length the proceedings of the last Annual Meeting,

he had made a condensation which appears in the published annual of our Society for 1910. To that abbreviated report, he referred the members of the Society. It would take an hour to read the full stenographic report from the volume of minutes. The Secretary then briefly reviewed the chief points of the last Annual Meeting from the published report of Volume 19. These minutes, as thus disposed of, were approved by a vote of the Society.

The Secretary then read in substance his annual report, covering the past year of the proceedings of the Society.

REPORT OF SECRETARY.

MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

June 30th (1910) a meeting of the Trustees, all of whom had been notified of the meeting, was held at 8:30 A. M., at the residence of Colonel Webb C. Hayes, Spiegel Grove, Fremont, Ohio. There was present a majority of the Board of Trustees as follows: Messrs. Andrews, Bareis, Baughman, Buck, Harper, Hills, Prince, Randall, Schaus, Thompson, Wright and Mills. The meeting had been called for the purpose of considering the proposals of Colonel Webb C. Hayes, who had previously (March 30, 1909) deeded to the State of Ohio under the custodianship of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, ten acres of Spiegel Grove, embracing the part facing on Buckland Avenue and including the historic Harrison Trail. That deed had been accepted by the Society, approved as to form by the Attorney General of the State, properly recorded with the Recorder of Sandusky County at Fremont and delivered July 13th, 1909, to the Auditor of State, its legal custodian. A full account of this transaction is found in the published report of the last annual meeting.

Colonel Hayes at this meeting (June 30, 1910) proposed to deed to the State of Ohio, under the custodianship of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, its use and benefit, the remaining fifteen acres of Spiegel Grove. Said donation to be in two separate deeds, one for ten acres, the portion facing on Hayes Avenue. This deed was similar to the one for the previous ten acres, save as to certain requirements of care and preservation and conditions of its use by the students of a normal school, should any such be located at Fremont. This deed was dated March 10, 1910, and was accepted by the Trustees of the Society. It was later approved as to form by the Attorney General of the State, recorded by the Sandusky County Recorder on November 15, 1910, and delivered by Secretary Randall to the Auditor of State, November 22, 1910. That left the five acre portion for final disposition.

For this acreage a conditional deed by Colonel Hayes was drawn and placed in the hands of Secretary Randall. This deed provided that the five acres in question would be transferred to the State of Ohio under the custodianship of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society for its use and benefit upon the condition that said Society should within three years erect or cause to be erected on said grounds a fire proof building for the Hayes Library and Museum. When such building was erected the Society should come, through the donation of Colonel Hayes, into possession of the Hayes Library, consisting of thousands of rare and valuable Americana, the documents and papers of the Hayes presidential administration and the collection of foreign and historical relics now possessed by Colonel Hayes. The Hayes residence, however, is to be retained in the trusteeship of certain named trustees for the use and occupancy now and hereafter of the Hayes heirs. This munificient offer of Colonel Hayes was likewise accepted by the Trustees, subject of course to their ability to fulfill the conditions of the proposed gift.

At this meeting the following Standing Committees for the Society were appointed for the ensuing year:

FORT ANCIENT: Messrs. Prince, Martzolff and Mills.
MUSEUM AND LIBRARY: Messrs. Wright, Schaus and Gallup.
FINANCE: Messrs. Wood, Ryan and Bareis.
PUBLICATION: Messrs. Ryan, Randall and Wood.
SERPENT MOUND: Messrs. Harper, Randall and Prince.
BIG BOTTOM PARK: Messrs. Martzolff, Bareis and Gallup.
SPIEGEL GROVE: Messrs. Wright, Ryan and Randall.

After the meeting of the Trustees, at the invitation of Colonel Hayes, the Trustees took automobiles and accompanied by Senator T. A. Dean and several prominent citizens of Fremont and several ladies of the Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the party proceeded to Port Clinton and visited the site of Old Fort Sandusky. From Port Clinton a launch conveyed the party to Put-in-Bay Island, where landing was made and the site of the proposed Perry's Victory monument was inspected.

The party returned to Fremont in the evening.

* * * *

Following up the matter to its conclusion, of the securing of the Spiegel Grove property and the fulfillment of the conditions for the acquiring of the Hayes Library, Secretary Randall stated that the Society had first hoped, with a hope amounting to almost expectation, that the State Normal School Commission, appointed by Governor Harmon for the selection of two State Normal School sites, and consisting of Messrs. C. L. Martzolff, W. H. Johnson, L. D. York, J. S. Hummel and N. J.

Catrow, would decide upon Fremont as the proper place for the northwest Normal School. In that event the State could properly erect the library building for the Normal School and the Society combined upon the grounds of Spiegel Grove, which would make an unsurpassed campus for the said School. But this expectation was frustrated by the selection on the part of the Normal School Commission of Bowling Green for the northwest school site.

This project having failed the officers of the Society opened negotiations with Mr. Andrew Carnegie, with a view to securing from him the amount required for the Hayes Library Building. Personal visits were made upon Mr. Carnegie in behalf of the Society by President G. F. Wright, Trustee Myron T. Herrick and Col. Webb C. Hayes. After various plans had been considered and some partially agreed upon in April (1911) Mr. Carnegie offered the Society the sum of $60,000 for a building, provided the Society or the County of Sandusky would, in addition to housing the Hayes Library therein, conduct a county circulating library for the maintenance of which $6,000 annually were to be raised by the Society or county. This amount of maintenance the County Commissioners took under consideration, with little likelihood of acceding to the proposition, when the problem was solved by the appropriation by the Legislature of $50,000 as hereinafter related.

LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS.

As to the regular appropriations asked and obtained by the Society, the following statement is made:

In accordance with their previous appointment by the Board of Trustees, the Treasurer (Wood) and Secretary (Randall) of the Society and the two Vice-Presidents, Messrs. Bareis and Ryan, met on December 16th (at the house of Secretary Randall) and made out the following budget to be asked of the forthcoming (1911) Legislature.

Current Expenses	$3,000.00
(This is $300 more than has ever before been requested).	
Field Work, Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound	2,500.00
(To this sum $300 was further asked on account of the care of Spiegel Grove)	300.00
Publications	3,300.00
(The same which has been asked for the past three years).	

When the matter of Spiegel Grove was brought before the Finance Committee of the House by Secretary Randall, he explained to the Committee that the two deeds by Col. Hayes to the State of Ohio for the Society covering ten acres each, respectively, of Spiegel Grove, had been accepted by him (the Secretary) for the Society, he had taken them each to the Attorney General, who had simply endorsed them "Approved in

Form by the Attorney General." The Attorney General maintained that this property deeded direct to the State could not be accepted by the State except by a Special act of the Legislature or by some act of the Legislature acknowledging possession. The Secretary therefore fully explained to the Finance Committee (of the House) that by appropriating the $300 for the care of Spiegel Grove the Legislature legally accepted the property for the State. In the appropriation bill for 1912 the same sums were asked as above.

The budget committee of the Society also agreed at its meeting to insert in the budget asked the sum of $50,000 for each year (1911-1912), making $100,000 in all, for the erection and equipment of a building to be located — as understood — on the campus of the Ohio State University. That item read in each bill: "Building for Museum and Library purposes to cost $100,000 complete, $50,000."

In the second appropriation bill (1912) the House Committee of its own volition inserted the sum of $7,000 for the republication of the 20 annual volumes — including the one for 1911 — five sets each to be furnished the members of the Legislature, and the balance of the total publications printed to go to the Society for its disposition.

There appeared before the Finance Committee of the House, in behalf of these appropriations, (except the one of $7,000), Dr. W. O. Thompson, Dr. G. F. Wright, Prof. W. C. Mills and Mr. E. O. Randall. No hearing was had before the Finance Committee of the Senate.

Both bills were introduced in the House and passed without any opposition whatever to the items for our Society. On reaching the Senate the bills were referred to the Senate Finance Committee and there approved, and the day that they were to be reported out — two weeks before the final adjournment of the Legislature — Secretary Randall was summoned to the cloak room of the Senate, in which were convened Chairman H. L. Goodbread of the House Finance Committee, and other members of the House Committee, and Senator W. N. Shaffer, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, and other members. The statement was made to Secretary Randall that this joint committee meeting had agreed to all of the items asked for by the Society in the two bills and in addition were prepared to insert the sum of $50,000, $20,000 in each bill, for the erection of a building at Spiegel Grove, $5,000 in each bill for the improvement of Hayes and Buckland Avenues. Items for the amendments, in proper form for insertion in the two bills, were at once prepared and inserted in each bill as follows:

For erection and equipment of Hayes Commemorative Library and Museum Building, on Spiegel Grove, Fremont, same to be property of the State of Ohio, under custodianship of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, to confirm title with conditional donation by Col. Webb C. Hayes, to cost complete, $40,000.00..... $20,000.00

For the proportion of the State of Ohio on account of improvement of abutting property of the Spiegel Grove State Park for the street paving (1,300 ft.) on Hayes and (2,000 ft.) on Buckland Avenues, State's proportion complete, $10,000.00 ..... $5,000.00

The appropriation bills with the amendments in question were reported out of the Finance Committee to the Senate. Owing to disagreements between the House and Senate, as to other amendments, both appropriation bills then went to a Conference Committee where they remained until May 31st — the day of the Annual Meeting of the Society — when the Legislature met for final adjournment. On this day named both bills finally passed the House and the Senate and on June 14th Governor Harmon signed both bills, thereby approving all appropriations for the Society. Thus the Society secured two long desired and deserved buildings at the hands of the 79th General Assembly.

For the successful outcome of their efforts the officers and members of the Society are greatly indebted to Chairman H. L. Goodbread (Wyandot), of the House Finance Committee and his associate members, R. M. Billingslea (Butler), John Cowan (Putnam), P. A. Walling (Pickaway), H. Fellinger (Cuyahoga), H. M. Finley (Morgan), R. R. Kennedy (Allen), A. P. Black (Ashland), G. M. Wilber (Union), Hanby R. Jones (Franklin), F. R. Gusweiler (Hamilton), J. L. Pocock (Paulding), and E. E. Miller (Monroe); and also to Chairman W. N. Shaffer (Paulding), of the Senate Finance Committee and his associate members, T. A. Dean (Sandusky), G. K. Cetone (Montgomery), I. A. Huffman (Butler), C. H. Keller (Lucas), John Krause (Cuyahoga), E. T. Crawford (Carroll), L. R. Andrews (Lawrence), S. F. McDonald (Ashtabula), H. L. Yount (Darke), F. T. Dore (Seneca), and William Green (Coshocton).

The appropriations for the Society met with almost universal approval by the members both of the House and the Senate. The regular appropriations (for the Society) and the items for a permanent building in Columbus met with no adverse vote or criticism and the Spiegel Grove amendment met with slight objection and that only in the House. The Society is especially indebted to Senator Thomas A. Dean of Fremont, for the appropriation secured for the Spiegel Grove Library and Museum Building.

These appropriations with the facilities and opportunities they afford the Society will place it in the front rank of similar state societies in this country.

In this consummation acknowledgment should be made to the friendly coöperation of Governor Harmon, who for many years has been a Life Member of the Society and who has participated in several of its public proceedings and always when called upon been active in its interests.

PUBLICATIONS.

It will be recalled that in the legislative appropriation bill for 1910 was the item for $6,000 for the reprinting of the (then) 18 volumes of the Society's annuals. Those volumes were reprinted and five complete sets sent (in December, 1910) to the members of the 78th General Assembly. During the year 1910 the usual four Quarterlies were issued, making the 19th volume of the Society, regarded as one of the best ever issued. It contains the first installment of the Zeisberger manuscripts on the Ohio Indians. The January Quarterly for 1911 was promptly issued and the April Quarterly is in process of appearance.

The Society also has in press and will issue in a short time, a volume on the "Poems on Ohio," being an anthology of all poems that can be found relating to Ohio. Some 150 have been collected by Prof. C. L. Martzolff who also annotates the volume. One thousand copies will be issued.

ITINERARY OF SECRETARY.

Since the last Annual Meeting (May 13, 1910), the Secretary as representative of the Society made the following trips:

May 24-26. Represented the Society at the Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Society at Iowa City, Ia. Addressed the meeting, giving report of the work done by our Society.

June 30th. Attended Trustee meeting at Spiegel Grove.

July 29th to August 5th. Attended annual meeting at Madison, Wis., of the Wisconsin Archæological Society. Addressed the meeting on the archæological work of the Ohio Society. Spent several days in the Manuscript Department of the Wisconsin Historical Society, selecting manuscripts on Ohio history from the Draper collection and had transcripts made for the publication in the Ohio Society's Quarterly.

September 9th. In company with Vice-President Ryan, went to Cincinnati to consult with members of the Society in Cincinnati, concerning a proposed banquet of the Cincinnati members of the Society. Finally determined not to hold such banquet.

September 22d. With Vice-President Ryan, visited Spiegel Grove to confer with local authorities concerning the proposed Hayes Library Building.

October 27th. Attended annual meeting of the Ohio Society, Daughters of the American Revolution. Addressed the meeting on the work of our Society and the value of marking historic sites.

November 11th. With Curator Mills and Trustee Schaus inspected the locality of Flint Ridge in Licking County.

PERRY'S VICTORY CENTENNIAL.

The Secretary reported concerning the Perry's Victory Centennial and the relation of our Society to it, that an advisory historical and

educational committee had been appointed by the Perry's Victory Commission to coöperate with said commission. The historical committee was as follows: Dr. G. Frederick Wright, President of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Oberlin; C. H. Gallup, President of the Firelands Historical Society, Norwalk; Prof. Isaac J. Cox, President of the Ohio Valley Historical Society, Cincinnati; William H. Cathcart, President of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland; D. K. Hollenbeck, President of the Maumee Valley Historical Society, Perrysburg; E. O. Randall, Secretary of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Columbus. The educational Committee was as follows: President A. B. Church, Buchtel College, Akron; President Charles W. Dabney, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati; President E. W. Hunt, Denison University, Granville; President C. E. Miller, Heidelberg University, Tiffin; Prof. E. E. Brandon, Miami University, Oxford; President A. T. Perry, Marietta College, Marietta; Prof. A. S. Root, Oberlin College, Oberlin; Prof. C. L. Martzolff, Ohio University, Athens; President Charles F. Thwing, Western Reserve University, Cleveland; Prof. R. T. Stevenson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware; President Charles G. Heckert, Wittenberg University, Springfield; President William O. Thompson, Ohio State University, Columbus; President Walter G. Clippinger, Otterbein University, Westerville.

These committees, or most of the members named, met at the Chittenden Hotel, Columbus, on October 10, 1910, Mr. Webster P. Huntington, Secretary of the Ohio Perry's Victory Commission, having charge of the meeting. Dr. W. O. Thompson was made chairman and the afternoon was spent in discussing plans for the historical and educational features of the proposed centennial.

A committee of five members from those present was appointed to prepare and report at a later meeting a tentative program relative to the historical and educational interests of the proposed celebration. That committee as named consists of Messrs. Gallup, Randall, Stevenson, Cathcart and Root.

The meeting adjourned, subject to the call of this special sub-committee.

TRUSTEES APPOINTED.

On May 9th (1911) Governor Harmon appointed B. F. Prince and E. O. Randall Trustees of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society for the term ending February 18, 1914. Both these were reappointments.

Prof. B. F. Prince was first appointed a trustee by Governor Bushnell in 1899 and was reappointed by Governor Nash, 1902; by Governor Herrick in 1905; and by Governor Harris in 1908 and now by Governor Harmon in 1911.

Mr Randall was first appointed by Governor William McKinley in

1893; he was subsequently reappointed by Governor Bushnell, (twice) 1896 and 1899; by Governor Nash, 1902; by Governor Herrick, 1905; by Governor Harris, 1908; and now by Governor Harmon in 1911.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Since the last Annual Meeting of the Society the following persons have qualified as Life Members of the Society:

Mr. Waldo C. Moore, Lewisburg,
Mr. Basil Meek, Fremont,
Mrs. Eleanora C. Alms, Cincinnati,
Dr. W. B. Rosamond, Gilmore,
Mr. David E. Phillips, Columbus,
Prof. A. B. Stout, Madison, Wis.,
Miss Julia M. Haynes, Fremont,
Mr. Birchard A. Hayes, Toledo,
Mrs. Fanny Hayes Smith, Annapolis, Md.,
Prof. W. H. Venable, Cincinnati.

In conclusion the Secretary, after stating recognition was due Prof. W. C. Mills for his tireless, indefatigable and effective aid rendered in the campaign with the legislature for the appropriation for the buildings, congratulated the members of the Society on the bright outlook for the future. It passed last year the 25th anniversary, the first quarter of a century. The officers have struggled patiently, zealously and faithfully in behalf of the purposes of the Society. "Some of us," said he, "Dr. Wright, Dr. H. A. Thompson, D. J. Ryan, G. F. Bareis and others recall the early days when the affairs bore a discouraging outlook, but now the silver lining behind the late clouds has burst into a golden shower of riches for the Society. Its future was assured and achievements of large measure are within easy accomplishment."

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

(For the year ending May 1, 1911).

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, May 1, 1910	$1,497 02
Life Membership Dues	100 00
Active Membership Dues	99 00
Subscriptions	23 75
Rebate on Fire Insurance	1 80
Athletic Association, O. S. U. (printing, etc.)	13 00
Logs sold at Fort Ancient	16 07
Books sold	131 30
Interest	379 23

From Treasurer of State:	
Appropriation for current Expenses	2,842 41
Appropriation for Publications	2,722 52
Appropriation for Field Work, etc	2,403 80
Appropriation for Reprinting Publications	6,000 00
Total	$16,229 90

DISBURSEMENTS.

Express, Freight and Drayage	$226 94
Expenses of Trustees and Committees	276 90
Field Work	660 60
Big Bottom Park	6 00
Fort Ancient, Care and Repair	362 25
Serpent Mound, Care and Repair	251 00
Spiegel Grove Park	126 90
Publications	2,662 67
Reprinting Publications	6,000 00
Salaries (3)	2,300 00
Museum and Library	857 69
Job Printing	4 00
Postage	65 74
Sundry Expenses	35 46
Refunded to State Treasurer	105 47
Transferred to Permanent Fund	615 00
Balance on hand, May 1st, 1911	1,573 28
Total	$16,229 90

The Permanent Fund now amounts to seven thousand five hundred and fifty dollars ($7,550.00).

Respectfully submitted,
E. F. Wood, *Treasurer.*

REPORT OF CURATOR.

Prof. Mills as Curator and Librarian made a detailed report of the work accomplished in those departments during the past year.

The making of the Archæological Atlas has rapidly progressed towards completion and of the 88 counties in the state 67 are now practically complete, leaving but 21 to be examined and mapped. Another year will see the work in its full accomplishment.

Recommendation was made that the Society carry on explorations

during the coming (1911) summer and that the work upon the Atlas be delayed until the early autumn.

The following additions have been made to the museum during the year.

Mr. Almer Hegler, Washington C. H.; two additions to his already donated collection, consisting of axes, celts, arrow and spear points, and grave artifacts, found in Fayette county.

Mr. William Stout of Scioto county; several fine spear points, some of them of a type peculiar to the county.

Mr. Philip Hinkle, Cincinnati; casts of the Cadle and the Turpin pipes; also, a collection of pottery, hammer stones, celts and axes picked up on the village site of the Turpin farm.

The Rev. C. G. Watson, Washington, D. C.; a pipe found in Warren county about the year 1850.

Prof. Ross C. Purdy; a number of ceramic specimens consisting of reef tile and brick made in Ohio as early as 1812.

Mr. S. H. Canmacher, Columbus; a number of archæological specimens which he had taken from Inca graves in Peru, consisting of woven fabrics.

The Tribune Printing Company, Covington; an old Adams printing press, the first one of its kind used in Ohio.

Mr. Harlow Park, Logansport, Ind.; a wooden ink-stand which was thrown out of a window of the old Ohio State House during the fire in 1852.

Mr. Henry Buck, Delaware; an old drug sign printed in Columbus in 1838.

Mr. William Korst, Chillicothe; a Philippine ethnological collection secured by him in the Philippines in 1900.

Mr. G. W. Starrett, Columbus; a section of one of the first Atlantic cables.

The Hon. C. C. Muhlbach, member of the 79th General Assembly from Highland county; a small archæological collection of special interest and value.

Mr. F. C. Hite, Thornville; a wooden shovel made in Thorn township, Perry county, in 1802.

Mr. John Ross, Malta; two archæological specimens consisting of a grooved stone axe and a large spear point found in that section.

Mr. George S. Porter, formerly of Columbus but now of Chicago, loaned a large collection of ethnological specimens from the Orient.

Mr. Pearl J. Smith, Chillicothe; an archæological collection taken from a mound directly south of that city.

Prof. and Mrs. A. E. Vinson, Tucson, Arizona, presented a Navaho metate.

During the year the library has made great progress and the records

now show 4,263 bound volumes entered upon the accession book. The growth has been constant and steady from exchanges and donations.

During the year Mr. Henry Buck, Delaware, presented the Society 50 volumes of old books pertaining to early Ohio history.

Prof. E. O. Randall presented the Society Ridpath's History of the World in 8 volumes and a complete set of the latest edition of the Encyclopedia Americana, in sixteen octavo volumes.

The Society has also received from the Virginia State Library a set of the journals of the House of Burgesses. This set of journals will be completed in fifteen volumes; eight of which have been printed.

During the year the Curator has visited many museums in the East; especially those of Boston, Salem, Andover, New York City, and Washington. The object being to secure, if possible, the latest designs in museum construction.

CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION.

It was proposed that the constitution be changed to the effect that in Article II, Section 1, the membership of the Society be divided into three classes, instead of four as heretofore, and that the Corresponding Members class be eliminated. This was proposed because the Corresponding Members had been of little or no avail to the Society. Such members had heretofore been entitled to the publications of the Society; moreover it was difficult to decide upon the merits of a Corresponding Member. This proposition was accepted and the article above made to read: "The membership of this Society shall be divided into three classes, designated as follows: Life Members, Active Members and Honorary Members." In accordance with this action, Section 4 of Article II of the Constitution which defines the character and requirements of Corresponding Members was eliminated from the constitution.

Another change in the constitution proposed and adopted was that the Governor of Ohio be made ex officio a member of the Board of Trustees of the Society. It was moved and carried that to the close of Section 1, Article III, the paragraph be inserted: "The Governor of the State of Ohio shall be ex officio a member of the Board of Trustees of the Society."

* * * *

At this point in the proceedings of the meeting Mr. A. J. Baughman reported that the health of our esteemed President

Emeritus, General R. Brinkerhoff, is fast failing and that his physical condition at the present time (May 31st) is very alarming.

In view of this statement Mr. G. F. Bareis offered resolutions of sincere solicitude for the welfare of our President Emeritus and expressing the hope that his days might be prolonged.

ELECTION OF TRUSTEES.

It devolved upon this meeting to elect five Trustees to succeed the five whose terms expired at this time. These latter were: Mr. R. E. Hills, Delaware; Mr. H. E. Buck, Delaware; Hon. Albert Douglas, Chillicothe; Prof. C. L. Martzolff, Athens, and Dr. G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin.

A Committee on Nominations was appointed, which, after due consideration reported as follows: Trustees for the ensuing three years, (1911-1914), G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin; Col. Webb C. Hayes, Fremont; Hon. F. W. Treadway, Cleveland; Dr. W. O. Thompson, Columbus, and Mr. H. E. Buck, Delaware. These gentlemen as named were duly elected.

SPIEGEL GROVE COMMITTEE.

By formal motion and vote the following named members of the Society were made a permanent standing committee to act as an advisory and controlling board, in behalf of the Society, in all matters concerning Spiegel Grove homestead:

The President of the Society, ex officio: Dr. G. Frederick Wright.
The President of the United States, ex officio: Hon. William H. Taft.
The Governor of Ohio, ex officio: Hon. Judson Harmon.
Former Governor of Ohio: Hon. Myron T. Herrick.
The Donors of the Property: Birchard A. Hayes, Col. Webb C. Hayes and Mrs. Fanny Hayes Smith.

This committee, it was explained, would not have the oversight of the erection of the proposed museum and library at Spiegel Grove, but would have general supervision of the property named when such building should have been erected.

BUILDING COMMITTEE.

In view of the fact of the appropriation of $100,000 for a building for the Society at Columbus, a committee on building was called for and after some discussion the following permanent committee for that purpose was named:

Hon. Judson Harmon, ex officio,
Dr. G. Frederick Wright,
Mr. G. F. Bareis,
Mr. D. J. Ryan,
Mr. L. P. Schaus,
Prof. W. C. Mills,
Mr. E. F. Wood,
Mr. E. O. Randall.

The appointment of a Building Committee for Spiegel Grove was left to the Executive Committee.

ANNUAL MEETING OF TRUSTEES.

Immediately after the adjournment of the Annual Meeting of the Society there was held the Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees. Those present were:

H. A. Baughman, L. P. Schaus, H. A. Thompson, G. F. Wright, H. E. Buck, C. H. Gallup, E. F. Wood, M. R. Andrews, J. W. Harper, E. O. Randall, G. F. Bareis, W. C. Mills, ex officio.

There being a quorum present, after the Secretary had read the minutes of the proceedings of the last Annual Meeting of the Trustees, the Trustees proceeded to the election of officers of the Society for the ensuing year, and the officers elected were as follows:

President, G. Frederick Wright,
1st Vice-Pres. G. F. Bareis,
2nd Vice-Pres. D. J. Ryan,
Secretary and Editor, E. O. Randall,
Treasurer, E. F. Wood,
Curator and Librarian, W. C. Mills.

Upon suggestion the following five men were named as the five members of the Board of Trustees to complete the Executive Committee, which is to consist of the officers of the Society and

five other Trustees: Mr. L. P. Schaus, Prof. B. F. Prince, Mr. H. E. Buck, Dr. H. A. Thompson and Hon. J. W. Harper.

The Executive Committee, therefore, now comprises Messrs. Bareis, Buck, Harper, Mills, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Schaus, Thompson (H. A.), Wright and Wood.

The newly elected President, Dr. Wright, acknowledged his election in the following remarks: "I feel highly honored by the courtesy which you have shown me, and I feel highly honored by the gift which Col. Hayes has given to this Society. If I was not a member of this Society at its organization, I have been a member for almost 25 or 26 years, and have followed its interests I think I might say with unselfish devotion. It has been the vocation of my life to give attention to the antiquities more than to history, and feel highly honored in working for such a Society as this; and now that I have time, and since Carnegie has pensioned me, I have nothing else to devote my energy to except to the Society, and I shall do that certainly rather than anything else."

The appointment of further committees on buildings or otherwise was referred to the Executive Committee with power of appointment.

The matter of compensation for the salaried officers of the Society was left to the action of the Executive Committee.

The Building Committee for the main building appointed by the meeting of the Society, was approved by the meeting of the Trustees, with the understanding that this committee was only for the purpose of supervising the construction of the main building. It was decided that this Building Committee after it had chosen its architect and plans, should report to a full meeting of the Board of Trustees, or a meeting so called, before proceeding with the construction of the building.

TO CINCINNATI.

BY EDWARD A. M'LAUGHLIN (1798-?).

[This poem appeared as one of a collection printed in Cincinnati in 1841. The general title of the book was "Lovers of the Deep." To any one who is acquainted with the culture of Cincinnati the prophetic vision of the poet can be keenly appreciated.]

City of gardens, verdant parks, sweet bowers;
Blooming upon thy bosom, bright and fair,
Wet with the dews of spring and summer's showers,
And fanned by every breath of wandering air;
Rustling the foliage of thy green groves, where
The blue-bird's matin wakes the smiling morn,
And sparkling humming-birds of plumage rare,
With tuneful pinions on the zephyrs borne,
Disport the flowers among, and glitter and adorn:

Fair is thy seat, in soft recumbent rest
Beneath the grove-clad hills; whence morning wings
The gentle breezes of the fragrant west,
That kiss the surface of a thousand spring:
Nature, her many-colored mantle flings
Around thee, and adorns thee as a bride;
While polished Art his gorgeous tribute brings,
And dome and spire ascending far and wide
Their pointed shadows dip in thy Ohio's tide.

So fair in infancy—O what shall be
Thy blooming prime expanding like the rose
In fragrant beauty; when a century
Hath passed upon thy birth and time bestows
The largess of a world that freely throws
Her various tribute from remotest shores,
To enrich the western Rome: Here shall repose
Science and art; and from times subtile ores—
Nature's unfolded page—knowledge enrich her stores.

Talent and Genius to thy feet shall bring
Their brilliant offerings of immortal birth:
Display the secrets of Pieria's spring,
Castalia's fount of melody and mirth:
Beauty and grace and chivalry and worth,

Wait on the Queen of Arts in her own bowers,
Perfumed with all the fragrance of the earth
From blooming shrubbery and radiant flowers;
And hope with rapture wed life's calm and peaceful hours.

Oft as the spring wakes on the verdant year,
And nature glows in fervid beauty dress'd,
The loves and graces shall commingle here,
To charm the queenly City of the West;
Her stately youth with noble warmth impress'd
Her graceful daughters, smiling as in May—
Apollos these, and Hebes those confessed;
Bloom in her warm and fertilizing ray,
While round their happy sires the cherub infants play.

So sings the Muse as she with fancy's eye,
Scans, from imagination's lofty height,
Thy radiant beaming day—where it doth lie
In the deep future; glowing on the night
From whose dark womb, empires unveil to light;
Mantled and diademed and sceptered there
Thou waitest but the advent of thy flight,
When like a royal Queen, stately and fair,
The City of the West ascends the regal chair.

A PROPHECY.*

BY RETURN JONATHAN MEIGS.

Enough of tributary praise is paid
To virtue living or to merit, dead.
To happier themes the rural muse invites,
To calmest pleasures and serene delights.
To us, glad fancy brightest prospects shows;
Rejoicing nature all around us glows;
Here late the savage, hid in ambush, lay,
Or roamed the uncultured valleys for his prey;
Here frowned the forest with terrific shade;
No cultured fields exposed the opening glade;
How changed the scene! See nature clothed in smiles

With joy repays the laborer for his toils;
Her hardy gifts rough industry extends,
The groves bow down, the lofty forest bends;
On every side the cleaving axes sound—
The oak and tall beech thunder to the ground;
And see the spires of Marietta rise,
And domes and temples swell into the skies;
Here justice reign and foul dissension cease,
Her walks be pleasant and her paths be peace.
Here swift Muskingum rolls his rapid waves;
There fruitful valleys fair Ohio laves;
On its smooth surface gentle zephyrs play,
The sunbeams tremble with a placid ray.
What future harvests on his bosom glide
And loads of commerce swell the "downward tide,"
Where Mississippi joins in length'ning sweep
And rolls majestic to the Atlantic deep.
Along our banks see distant villas spread;
Here waves the corn and there extends the mead;
Here sound the murmurs of the gurgling rills;
There bleat the flocks upon a thousand hills.
Fair opes the lawn—the fertile fields extend
The kindly flowers from smiling heaven descend;
The skies drop fatness on the blooming vale;
From spicy shrubs ambrosial sweets exhale;
Fresh fragrance rises from the floweret's bloom,
And ripening vineyards breathe a "glad perfume."
Gay swells the music of the warbling grove
And all around is melody and love.
Here may religion fix her blessed abode,
Bright emanation of creative God;
Here charity extend her liberal hand
And mild benevolence o'erspread the land;
In harmony the social virtues blend;
Joy without measure, rapture without end!

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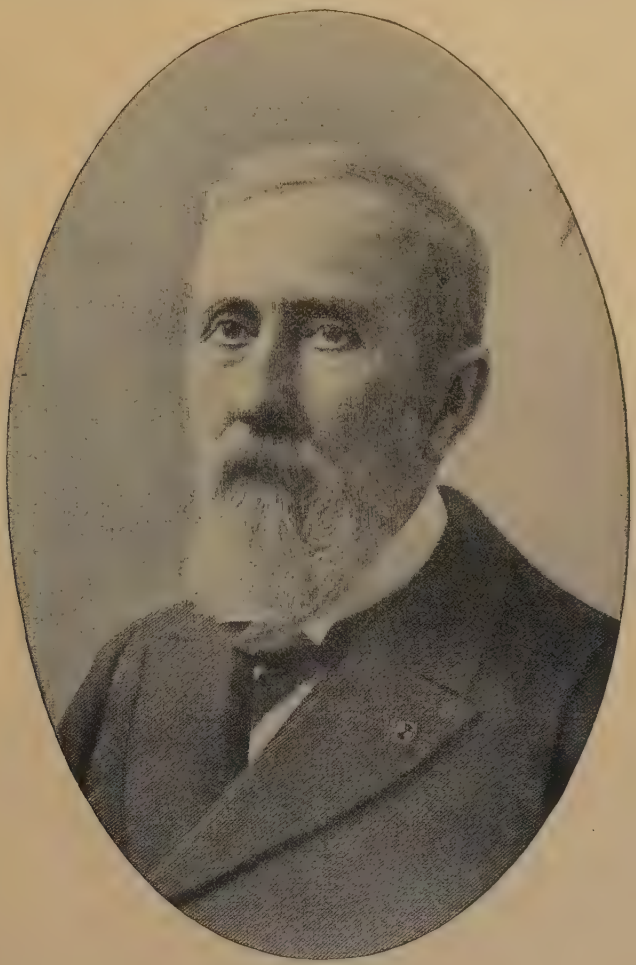
*At a celebration, on July 4, 1789, at Marietta the above lines concluded the oration of the day. Meigs was then a young lawyer. He later occupied many places of honor, among which was governor of Ohio. He died in 1825 and his grave is in Mound Cemetery, Marietta. Doubtless this was the first poem written in the Northwest Territory.

GENERAL ROELIFF BRINKERHOFF.

1828-1911.

On Sunday, June 4, 1911, at 9:30 in the evening, at his beloved home in Mansfield, Ohio, the soul of General Roeliff Brink-



ROELIFF BRINKERHOFF.

erhoff took its peaceful flight to the eternal life beyond. At the time of his demise General Brinkerhoff was President Emeritus

of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, of which he was active President from the year 1893 to the year 1907—a period of fifteen years—when at his request he was made President Emeritus and the active duties of the office of president were conferred upon Dr. G. Frederick Wright. Probably no one man has been so long, so intimately, so interestedly and so effectively connected with the origin, growth and work of the Society as has General Brinkerhoff. It is therefore with unusual sad and appreciative feelings that we record his death, and speak all to briefly of his life and its crowded activities, for few men of his day and generation wrought so zealously or in so many diverse fields, or accomplished so much for the benefit of his fellowmen.

In speaking of his life and services to his community, state and nation, we are indebted for much information to an article appearing in the *Mansfield Shield* on the day following the death of General Brinkerhoff.

A NOTABLE CAREER.

The name of General Brinkerhoff is indelibly impressed upon the pages of Ohio history. A strongly marked personality, clearly defined purpose, keen insight, high ideals and a recognition of life's obligations and responsibilities combined to make General Brinkerhoff one of the most honorable and honored residents of the state. The record of few men in public life has been so varied in service, so constant in honor and so stainless in reputation.

He was born in Owasco, Cayuga county, New York, June 28, 1828, and was a representative in the seventh generation of the descendants of Joris Dericksen Brinkerhoff, the founder of the family in America, who came from Dentland, Holland, in 1638, accompanied by his wife, Susannah, and settled at Brooklyn, N. Y., then New Netherlands. Many representatives of the family are now living on Long Island and in the Hudson valley, while others can be found in almost every Western state. Most of these are descended from Hendrick son of Joris Dericksen Brinkerhoff, who settled in New Jersey in 1685. The grandfather, Roeliff Brinkerhoff, removed from Hackensack, N. J.,

to the vicinity of Gettysburg, Pa., where George R. Brinkerhoff, the father, was born. In the maternal line, General Brinkerhoff was descended from French Huguenots, who, fleeing from religious persecution, found safety and a home among the tolerant Dutch settlers of New Netherlands. Both the Bouviers, his mother's people, and the Demarests, to which family his grandmother belonged, were French Huguenots.

General Brinkerhoff had been very successful in his business career and yet it has been other qualities that became dominant in his life record and gained him the honor and respect which were so universally accorded him. He early manifested aptitude in his studies, and when sixteen years of age became a teacher in his native town, while at the age of eighteen he was in charge of a school near Hendersonville, Tenn. The following year he was the tutor in the family of Andrew Jackson, Jr., at the Hermitage, and there remained until 1850, when he returned to the North and took up the study of law with Hon. Jacob Brinkerhoff, of Mansfield, O., as his preceptor. His thorough preliminary reading secured him admission to the bar in 1852, and he remained in active practice from that time until after the outbreak of hostilities over the question of secession. He was also identified with journalistic interests from June, 1855, until 1859, as one of the editors and proprietors of the *Mansfield Herald.*

But when the civil war was inaugurated his interests centered in its outcome until, believing that his first duty was to his country, he joined the army in September, 1861, as first lieutenant and regimental quartermaster of the Sixty-fourth Ohio Volunteer infantry. In November of the same year he was promoted to the position of captain and assistant quartermaster, and during the first winter was on duty at Bardstown, Ky. Following the capture of Nashville he was placed in charge of the land and river transportation in that city and after the battle of Pittsburg Landing he was ordered to the front and placed in charge of the field transportation of the Army of the Ohio. It was following the capture of Corinth that he returned home on sick leave and when he had sufficiently recovered he was ordered to Maine as chief quartermaster of the state. His next trans-

ferral took him to Pittsburg, Pa., in charge of transportation and army stores, and as post quartermaster he remained in Washington, D. C., until June, 1865, when he was made a colonel and inspector of the quartermaster's department. He was then retained on duty at the war office with Secretary Stanton until November, when he was ordered to Cincinnati as chief quartermaster of the department. In September, 1866, he was brevetted a brigadier general of volunteers and was also tendered a commission in the regular army, but declined the honor. On the first of October, at his own request, he was mustered out of service, having for five years been continuously connected with the army on active duty. General Brinkerhoff was the author of a volume entitled, "The Volunteer Quartermaster," which is still the standard guide for the officers and employes of the quartermaster's department. His chief literary work of permanent value was his volume entitled "Recollections of a life time," published in 1900, by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, Ohio. It is an unusual book, both as its intensely interesting contents and also as to its simple, direct, familiar, personal style of composition. Not only is the volume entertainly writeen, but it is replete with delightful comments upon persons and events and with philosophical thoughts upon life in its various phases. The work was reviewed at some length by the editor of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly for July, 1900.

General Brinkerhoff was married on February 3, 1852, to Miss Mary Lake Bently, of Mansfield, a daughter of Baldwin Bently and a granddaughter of General Robert Bently. Their family numbered two sons and two daughters, Robert Bently, a member of the New York city bar who died in 1907, and Addie Horton; Mary, deceased, and Roeliff, former judge of the probate court of Richland county.

General Brinkerhoff figured in connection with important events from the time of the repeal of the Missouri compromise until after the reconstruction period following the war. During this time he formed the acquaintance of many men eminent in public life and won the warm friendship and regard ot such distinguished national characters as Salmon P. Chase, James G.

Blaine, General Garfield and General R. B. Hayes. He took an active part in politics for a long period after the war, visited many states in the campaign work in support of the principles and candidates of the party, while in its conventions his opinion carried weight and influence. He had not been an active factor in political circles, however, since 1873, in which year he accepted the position of cashier in the Mansfield Savings Bank, in which he was later chosen to the presidency and while not active in its management of late years he filled that position up to the time of his death. He displayed the same keen discernment and power of executive control in his business affairs as he did in his political and military service.

In 1878, General Brinkerhoff was appointed a member of the board of state charities and continued in that position under different administrations until he completed his tenth term, a period of thirty years, and he was recently appointed to the eleventh term. His philanthrophy was one of the salient features of his life, and there is perhaps no single individual better informed concerning the methods of management and control in different benevolent and correctional institutions than was he. To further inform himself on this subject he visited every state in the union except one, also institutions of this character in the Dominion of Canada, the Republic of Mexico, and all the countries of Western Europe, and the record of his observations in these directions is a history of all modern progress in dealing with the dependent, defective and criminal classes. In all his work in this connection, General Brinkerhoff may be termed a practical idealist. He labored constantly to improve conditions, yet his work was of most effective character inasmuch as he utilized the means at hand, having the ability to assimilate, control and shape divers interests into a united and harmonious whole. Studying the subject of management in correctional and benevolent institutions he quickly grasped the points upon which improvement could be made and agitated the subject so that public opinion demanded reform and advancement. To him, perhaps more than to any other, was due the abolition of mechanical restraints, and other improvements, in dealing with the insane. It was largely due to him, also, that the Toledo hospital

was established upon the cottage system, which really marked a new era in the treatment of the insane, and one which the medical profession and general public now recognizes as most beneficial. He served as a member of the commission to locate the asylum and select plans for its construction, and his earnest advocacy for the segregate or cottage system secured its adoption, and the plan once termed "Brinkerhoff's Folly" has led to the adoption of what is now regarded as the model asylum of the nation.

While General Brinkerhoff was a theorist in that he formulated plans, he was also a worker of the most practical order for when his judgment sanctioned a course that he thought out or that was presented to him by others he immediately set to work to secure its adoption. The range of his study and investigation has been most broad and comprehensive. He was chosen the first president when, in 1875, at his home in Mansfield the Ohio Archaeological Society was organized in October, 1875. He continued as its chief executive officer for several terms, until March, 1884, when the Ohio Archaeological Society was reorganized and incorporated as the Ohio State Archaeological and Historial Society of which the first president was Senator Allen G. Thurman. On the death, January, 1893 of Rutherford B. Hayes, then the president of the the Society, General Brinkerhoff was elected to the office which he held until 1907, when he declined further active service and was elected President Emeritus. It was at one of the meetings of this society—a banquet held in Columbus in February, 1891—that he made the suggestion which found embodiment in a beautiful memorial group of bronze statues which now stand at the northwest corner of the Capitol building in Columbus. On this occasion he was put upon the program to respond to the toast "Ohio at the Columbian Exposition." He had no time for preparation, but as it approached the hour in which he would be called upon there came to him the thought that it "was not bigness or material resources that gave renown to a nation so much as the character of its men and women," and continuing, General Brinkerhoff said, "I remembered Greece and

Palestine, and my speech was ready, for in men of renown Ohio was peerless among the states. At 11 o'clock when my turn came I amplified my idea and wound up with the suggestion that Ohio should be represented at the fair by a group of statuary in the center of which should be a noble matron representing Ohio, and all around her should be such children as Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Chase, Stanton and Garfield; and then upon the pedestal should be engraved the proud utterance of Cornelia the Mother of the Gracchi, 'These are my jewels.' A resolution was unanimously adopted recommending the legislature to adopt the suggestion and appropriate the funds necessary to put it in granite bronze."

When the Ohio monument was dedicated at Jefferson Park, in Chicago, September 14, 1893, General Brinkerhoff delivered one of the principal addresses.

General Brinkerhoff's interest in historical matters dated from early life. Coming to Richland county in 1850 he advocated preserving the annals of its early history, recognizing the fact that in the course of years the record of the lives of the pioneer men and women who laid its foundation and reared its superstructure would be of value and general interest. He therefore began to gather information in regard to pioneer days and the result of his labors has been given to the public not only in newspaper articles, but also in book form. Pioneer meetings were held at regular intervals, and in November, 1898, a Richland county historical society was organized with General Brinkerhoff as the president and A. J. Baughman as secretary. For many years he had been one of the principal supporters of the Mansfield Lyceum, which he joined on its organization, and he was also active in the establishment of the Mansfield Reformatory and the museum and a pavilion of the Sherman-Heineman park. The plan of the park originated in his fertile brain and he labored untiringly until he saw its embodiment in a beautiful strip of country adorned by the arts of the landscape gardener and extending for a mile and a half along the western border of the city. He was made one of the park commissioners, became president of the board and held that office continuously up to the

time of his death. There are few of his years who remained so active a factor in life as did General Brinkerhoff. Ohio numbered him among her most honored sons.

FUNERAL OF GENERAL BRINKERHOFF.

The funeral services of the late General Brinkerhoff were held Wednesday afternoon, June 7th, at 2 o'clock, from the family home on Park avenue, West, in the presence of many of the relatives, old friends and admirers of the honored man. Many organizations and institutions of which General Brinkerhoff was a member or with which he was connected were officially represented. President G. Frederick Wright and Trustees Bareis, Prince and Randall of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society were present. The services, though simple, were none the less impressive. Prof. Bellingham rendered a beautiful vocal solo and Rev. B. G. Mattson, of the First Congregational Church, after reading Scripture, spoke simply of the man that was honored by his city, state and country. Mr. Mattson's remarks, in substance, were as follows:

Dear Friends: In reverence of spirit we gather here by the hearthstone of this quiet home to offer that best gift of the heart, our meed of human sympathy, because of the presence here of the sorrow that comes with death. We also bring the affectionate tribute of friends and neighbors for the memory of this well beloved friend and fellow-citizen, who has lived these so many years among us in the quiet dignity and beauty of a blameless life.

It is fitting that what is said by me should be marked by the simplicity and quiet sincerity of this home where we meet and of this life we would sacredly remember. The large influence and great service to mankind which belong to the complete life-story of General Roeliff Brinkerhoff need not be dwelt upon at length here. He would be the first to wish otherwise. These things have been widely noted in the public press. General Brinkerhoff's large public services have rightly earned him wide honor in this and other lands, and these things are well known to those who knew him best.

We come rather to recall the man in the simplicity of his goodness and greatness of spirit. We wish to recall him in the intimacy of those relationships in which it has been our privilege to know him. It is, after all, these things that measure the larger worth of a man. It is these things that seem to reach out beyond the boundary of human life and

partake of the eternities. What kind of a man was this man who by reason of strength has more than lived his four score years?

Well we rejoice to remember him here in this home, and here first of all will those most dear to him wish him to be remembered. Some men of large public service and responsibilities have the misfortune of losing the quiet and gracious home-making qualities; but this man was always seen at his best here with his dear ones around him. Good fighter for his country and for the issues of a great reform as he was, it was in his home that the gentleness of his nature made him great to those who loved him.

We remember him in the church he loved and served so faithfully for so many years. To the very last of his failing strength he continued the habit of a lifetime of participation in public worship. How we shall miss his stalwart, familiar figure in the accustomed place. Beginning in his early life of service as a school teacher, teaching continued to be his avocation. For many years he was faithfully devoted to his class in the Sunday school, where a group of long-time friends gathered week by week to study Scripture truth as expounded and enriched by his wide experience and thoughtful observation. Every good work in the varied activities of the church found in him a supporter. Religion was to him a natural and indispensable part of daily life.

We remember him in the community as citizen and neighbor. He was a man who loved his city, who thought on its life and planned for its welfare. We owe to him a debt of gratitude for our beautiful parks, for not only was he largely influential in securing the gift of the land but he gave lifelong interest and care to maintaining and beautifying them.

A fitting and beautiful tribute is offered to-day by the employes of the park commission, who have gathered a great sheaf of flowers of all the kinds that grow so profusely on the slopes and in the shady dells of the park.

The children in this city remember General Brinkerhoff to-day with an offering of flowers from the public schools in recognition of his generous thoughtfulness in establishing a fund for prizes for the best children's gardens.

But in a much broader and deeper sense has this man proven himself to be the friend and lover of mankind. The work by which he is well-known to thousands who have never seen him is that work in which he was a pioneer and prophet, the work of prison reform. It is not my purpose to estimate either historically or in detail the contribution of General Brinkerhoff to this, one of the most humane and wise of the reforms of modern times. That he was a pioneer and an authority in that work is too well known to need repeating here.

What I do want to point out here is the way this, his greatest public service, simply illustrates on a broad human scale the fine character and spirit of the man. This man who loves his home, who loves his God and

seeks to serve Him, who loves his city and in unusual and far-seeing ways does things for the welfare of its citizens, is the man whose brain can conceive large and effective plans for wise treatment, and ultimate recovery to society, of that pitifully large multitude who suffer in prisons the penalties of the law.

Forty years ago it took men large of heart, large of vision and large of faith to believe that this class were worth caring for, so little had the gospel of the Master come to be accepted as possessing any wisdom to solve the problems of the state.

But of this man and his influence we, his friends and neighbors, can say with gladness that he took stock in the Sermon on the Mount and the great parable of ministry to the needy. We see that in these truths a man of large heart and mind can find the way to give his life on a large scale to the difficult task that so many others would pass by. Truly it must have already been said to him in the realm of the spirit whither his spirit has embarked:

"Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me."

At the close of Rev. Mattson's remarks, Prof. Bellingham sang again after which Rev. Mattson offered prayer. This concluded the services at the home. The remains were laid in the final resting place at the cemetery, in the presence of many people who wished to pay the last possible respect to the honored man.

MEMORIAL MEETING IN FIRST LUTHERAN CHURCH.

A good sized audience attended the General Roeliff Brinkerhoff memorial meeting held at the First Lutheran church Sunday evening, June 25, under the auspices of the Richland County Historical Society of which General Brinkerhoff was the founder and president for many years.

The services opened with scripture reading by Rev. S. P. Long after which he gave a short address stating the object of the meeting. The Long quartet rendered patriotic music and Hon. M. B. Bushnell took the chair.

Mr. Bushnell stated that the meeting had been called by the society so that the public and people of Mansfield might hear of some of the excellent work General Brinkerhoff had done during his eventful life.

A. J. Baughman, secretary of the society read an interesting sketch of the life of the late General Brinkerhoff starting at

the time of his birth and briefly outlining the most noteworthy events. Mr. Baughman dwelt principally on the latter part of his life when he accomplished so many noble things for the benefit of his country, state and home city.

Mr. Bushnell gave a short talk introducing the next speaker in which he said that although during his life General Brinkerhoff had accomplished many things for the betterment of the people in general the meeting would deal mostly with home affairs where he had held several positions of honor and trust.

Prof. G. F. Wright of Oberlin who succeeded General Brinkerhoff as president of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, gave a sympathetic address in which he spoke in highest praise of General Brinkerhoff.

Dr. J. A. Leonard of the reformatory was the last speaker and spoke feelingly of his dead friend. Dr. Leonard stated that although he had not known General Brinkerhoff in youth his acquaintance and friendship had been made at the time in life when it was most appreciated and most highly valued. Dr. Leonard stated that General Brinkerhoff had done much for the institution of which he was the head, and also for many other institutions. "There is not a person who is compelled to enter an insane institution in any part of the country but who will receive better care and higher medical treatment because of the fact that General Brinkerhoff lived. The name of General Brinkerhoff is known and honored the country over. Last year representatives from 55 civilized countries visited the reformatory and all were anxious to see General Brinkerhoff and hear him speak."

The meeting closed with Rev. Long leading in the closing hymn and pronouncing the benediction. From every viewpoint the meeting was one of the best ever held in memory of a Mansfield citizen.

The address of Professor G. Frederick Wright was as follows:

In the death of General Brinkerhoff there has been removed from us a man of world-wide reputation, whose influence will be felt in many directions to the end of time, and yet as a man he was so gentle and

modest in his demeanor that his merits were not manifest to the ordinary observer. Near the outset of his career General Brinkerhoff performed a service in the political world, which was most far reaching in its effects. In 1859 occurred the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue Case in which a negro slave was snatched from his pursuers by Oberlin citizens and students and safely transported to Canada. As a consequence a large number of these law breakers were arrested and put on trial in Cleveland. Salmon P. Chase was then Governor of Ohio and Joshua R. Giddings was in the height of his career in representing the anti-slavery cause. The trial of the Oberlin rescuers created intense excitement, assuming especial importance as the time approached for the convention which was to nominate a Republican candidate for Governor of Ohio.

Under an application for habeas corpus to take the prisoners out of the custody of the United States on the plea that the fugitive slave law was unconstitutional, a week was spent by the lawyers in discussing the case before the Supreme Court at Columbus, the result of which was a refusal of the writ by a vote of three to two, and a declaration that the fugitive slave law was constitutional. One of the minority was Judge Brinkerhoff, of Mansfield, an uncle of the General. The radical members of the Republican party were greatly excited by this decision and were determined at the coming nominating convention to force the issue by declaring that the fugitive slave law was unconstitutional, thus throwing discredit upon some of the majority of the court, who were at the same time Republicans. On the other hand, the more moderate members of the party, headed by Tom Corwin, were determined to avoid this issue; so that if it was really made in the convention the party would be disrupted and the election of a Republican Governor rendered impossible.

It was the plan of the radicals to have Professor Henry E. Peck, of Oberlin, and his compatriots who were in jail in Cleveland give bail and come down to the convention to feed the flame that was burning hot in view of the decision of the Supreme Court and thus force the radical issue. In his perplexity between many conflicting advisers Professor Peck sent for young Brinkerhoff, whom he knew to be intimate both with his uncle, the judge, and with Governor Chase, and said to him: "I am utterly nonplussed by my advisers, give me your opinion of what I should do and I will follow it whatever it may be." The advice was instant and unequivocal, "Stay here in jail. Keep away from the convention. Avoid pressing the issue raised by your radical friends."

The advice was followed, and in due time the convention assembled. When the crisis in the discussion came and a disruption seemed imminent, Governor Chase called young Brinkerhoff aside and begged him to frame a resolution on which the conflicting elements could unite. This he did with such sagacity that it was accepted by the convention. Dennison was nominated and in due time elected. A failure of an election of a Republican Governor at that time would have probably meant a failure to elect

a Republican President in 1860, and there is no telling what the consequences would have been.

This beginning of the career of General Brinkerhoff is a type of what occurred repeatedly in the course of his life. It does not fall to me to speak of the remarkable services which he rendered the country as quartermaster during the civil war, services which were by no means limited to the regular details of his position, but which were pre-eminent in firing the patriotism of the North and in calling upon his citizens to come up to the help of the union cause. As a campaign speaker in those days he was unexcelled in his influence.

Another will speak of his long continued and successful efforts in improving the condition of prisoners, not only in Ohio but throughout the whole country, and in promoting sane methods of dealing with our dependent population and in the appropriation of our charities. Suffice it to say that he was recognized in the old world as well as in the new as one of the wisest and most efficient representatives of reforms in the administration of public charities and in prison discipline that has ever lived. Almost every measure for improvement in the treatment of our dependent and criminal classes incorporated into the laws of Ohio was drafted by General Brinkerhoff and its passage secured by his clear statement of reasons before committees of the legislature. Governor Hoadly emphatically remarked, on one occasion, that there was but one jail in the state of Ohio to which it was fit to send a criminal and that, it was needless to say, was in General Brinkerhoff's county.

But the aspects of General Brinkerhoff's services of which I am especially expected to speak relate to his devotion to the historical and the archaeological interests of the state. General Brinkerhoff was the founder of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, in 1875, and became its first president. Later this was reorganized under its present constitution and he became its president in 1893, after the death of ex-President Hayes, continuing in this office until his death. Much of the success of the society has been due to his wise counsel and persistent advocacy. During the recent successful effort to secure appropriations for a building a member of the legislature who was approached for his influence, on being told that it was General Brinkerhoff's society, immediately replied, "You need not say anything more, that is enough for me. Anything that General Brinkerhoff favors I will favor."

General Brinkerhoff's interest in preserving the history and in obtaining knowledge of the archaeological monuments of the state began at home. He collected and published in the *Mansfield Herald* the reminiscences of the pioneers of Richland county until there was sufficient material to fill a portly volume, making it the most complete historical record that has been secured for any portion of the state. His disappointment from year to year in our successive failures to obtain an appropriation for a museum and library building for the State Archaeolog-

ical and Historical Society was very manifest and keen, but he never gave up hope or relaxed his efforts. But when at last the appropriation was made he was too near his end to share in our mutual cause for rejoicing. A telegram from the society, at its annual meeting in June, 1911, was sent to his sick bed announcing the good news and congratulating him upon the accomplishment of his long deferred expectation. But alas he was then too weak to appreciate or even to hear the good news.

General Brinkerhoff was a successful business man, but it may be safely said that he devoted far more time and energy to secure the accomplishment of his humane and philanthropic designs than he did to his business. For these services he asked no reward except the good which was accomplished by them for his fellow men. It was enough for him that the maimed, the halt, the blind, those diseased in body or mind, and those who through the commission of crime were to be punished by the state should have their ills ameliorated by his effort, and the criminals put in the way of becoming again self-respecting members of society. The good that he has done in these lines is beyond estimate. But the good he did in promoting the interests of our society should not be overlooked. It is a moderate estimate that in the dissemination of the historical and archaeological knowledge for which his beloved society was formed there has been added five cents a day to the value of the life of every citizen of Ohio that comes into its possession. Man cannot live by bread alone: he has a mind which hungers for knowledge and cannot be satisfied without it. This part of General Brinkerhoff's work ministered to that want in the highest degree.

Ohio has been slow to see the importance of collecting its local history and of exploring its remarkable archaeological treasure houses. Seventy years ago Squier and Davis made the first extensive explorations of the mounds in the Ohio Valley and had first access to their remarkable archaeological treasures. An account of their work was published in the first volume of reports made to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, but their collection of relics found no one to appreciate their value in Ohio or indeed in the country. They were at length purchased by Mr. Blackmore, who took them to his home in Salisbury, England, and there built for them a safe abiding place. The student of Ohio archaeology must therefore make a pilgrimage to the Blackmore museum in Salisbury to study this first, and in some respects, most important collection of the relics of the first inhabitants of the Ohio Valley.

Upon the establishment and endowment of the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, Mass., a quarter of a century later, Professor Putnam, who became its active head and manager, began the exploration of Ohio mounds and earth-works and prosecuted the work until he had spent more than $50,000 in the state. All the valuable discoveries made by his agents and co-laborers were taken to Cambridge, Mass., and thither the

Ohio citizen must make a pilgrimage to see the results of those extensive explorations.

At the time of the Columbian Exposition, in 1893, $12,000 was put into Professor Moorehead's hands by the commissioners to spend in the exploration of Ohio mounds. The marvelous results of his explorations were taken to Chicago and there they remain in the Field Museum. Meanwhile there was a constant flow of Ohio archaeological objects to the National Museum at Washington. But until the organization of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society by General Brinkerhoff there was no systematic effort made to collect and retain these objects in our own state. During his administration as president of the society, however, annual appropriations have been secured from the legislature, and marvelous results have been accomplished through the field work of our curator, Professor W. C. Mills. At present these treasures are imperfectly exhibited in one of the rooms of the law building of the Ohio State University at Columbus. But when the museum building is erected these will be displayed in a manner to arouse the envy of all other collectors of Ohio relics and to gratify the pride of all the citizens of the state. Here will be seen, in the collection from a single mound in the Scioto Valley, obsidian implements from the Rocky Mountains, copper implements and ornaments from Lake Superior, Swastika crosses cut from sheets of mica which came from North Carolina, and perforated shells brought from the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, revealing thus not only the delicate workmanship but the great commercial enterprise of the prehistoric inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley. From another mound you will see a string of pearl beads which experts say would be worth $10,000 if they were now fresh, and which it would require several generations of Indians to collect. But most interesting of all one will see there evidences that the demand for beautiful pearls was greater than the supply and that, true to human nature, prehistoric man was alert to supply the demand by a counterfeited product. Pieces of clay modeled into the shape of pearls were burned in the fire and then covered with malleable mica from North Carolina, which successfully imitates the glossy surface.

But time fails me to go into further details. In his native town the splendid park which has been secured, largely through General Brinkerhoff's efforts, and the original block house for the protection of the pioneers of Richland County, which is preserved in the park, are lasting monuments of General Brinkerhoff's unselfish devotion to the higher interests of his fellow townsmen. A still more impressive monument is the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, with its great accumulation of material illustrating the history of the state and the condition of life in prehistoric times. May the mantle of this noble friend of humanity fall upon others who shall take up his work and carry it on with equal success.

CELEBRATION OF THE SURRENDER OF GENERAL JOHN H. MORGAN.

AN ACCOUNT BY MORGAN'S CAPTOR, MAJOR GEORGE W. RUE.

On September 21, 1910, there was celebrated on the Crubaugh Farm, South of Lisbon, Columbiana county, near the historic spot where the event occurred, the 47th Anniversary of the Surrender of the Confederate Raider, General Morgan.

MAJOR GEO. W. RUE.

Concerning the celebration the *East Liverpool Tribune* of September 22, 1910, made the following comment:

Romance and intrigue combined to make history in that hot July of 1863, when handsome, foolhardy General John H. Morgan, cavalier debonaire of the southland, and idol of the famous blue grass region of Kentucky, dashed from under cover of his native heath, through Indiana, into Ohio, and finally reached the highest point ever attained by a Confederate force before he was captured on the Crubaugh farm near West Point by another equally as intrepid as himself, also a Kentuckian by birth, but arrayed on the side of the Union, Major George W. Rue.

Morgan, the Confederate raider, has passed into the great beyond, but yesterday East Liverpool and Columbiana county was honored by the presence of his captor, Major George W.

Rue, at the celebration in commemoration of the 47th anniversary of the occasion on the Crubaugh farm. The celebration was held in a grove near the historic West Beaver, within sight of the marker indicating the exact spot of the surrender, and erected through the efforts of the late lamented Will L. Thompson, that living epic of music and patriotic citizen.

Hundreds of interested people; city people in their automobiles and carriages, and country folk in their carryalls and on foot, veterans of the Civil war, the glorious remnants of the grandest army ever marshaled, the wives, sisters and sometimes their daughters, who suffered during that epoch-making strife; all these people stood with bared heads while Major Rue, erect and stalwart, with his six feet three in heighth and magnificent physique, even at the age of 83, related in simple and direct words the story of John H. Morgan's capture.

The following is the complete address of Major Rue:

I was born in Kentucky, south of Lexington. The old Rue family in Kentucky consisted of three brothers. They were among the earliest white pioneers of the state, and came from New Jersey. The Rues were French people, originally, and in France the name was LaRue, but when they came to this country, for some reason the prefix was dropped.

A soldier's life always had attractions for me. When eighteen years of age I enlisted in the Second Kentucky Infantry and served through the Mexican war, under General Zachary Taylor. At the battle of Buena Vista, two colonels of my regiment were killed in action, Col. McKee and Col. Henry Clay, Jr., a son of Kentucky's noted statesman.

Early in the Civil war I organized a company of cavalry in Kentucky, and was made captain. I was assigned to the Ninth Kentucky cavalry, of which Col. Jacobs was commander. I was kept busy chasing John Morgan out of Kentucky. Six times I drove him out of the state, on six different occasions, before the raid into Ohio, when he surrendered to me on the Crubaugh farm, where the monument has been erected.

A short time before Morgan started for Indiana, my regiment left me at a farm house, in southern Kentucky. I was

sick and unable to go on with the regiment. John Morgan had tried to cross the Green river, and had been driven back. Morgan then crossed the river lower down and made a run for the Ohio river below Louisville. My regiment followed him, and became a part of Shackleford's command. They followed Morgan all through the raid, but were not up to the point of capture, when I caused Morgan to surrender. I was anxious to join my regiment, and as soon as possible left the farm house and went to the nearest railway station to take a train for Cincinnati. The conductor would not let me board the train because I was in uniform. He said he had orders forbidding him to carry soldiers in uniform without a pass from a superior officer. I then went to the house of a friend and exchanged my uniform for citizen's clothes. I stepped aboard the next train and soon reported to General Burnside in Cincinnati.

General Burnside told me he did not know where my regiment was, but said he would find me something to do for him. He placed me in command of Covington Barracks, just opposite Cincinnati. I took charge of four hundred men and a thousand horses. I found a detachment of about seventy men from my regiment, the Ninth Kentucky. They had been sent for ammunition, and were left behind by Shackleford and Col. Jacobs. All the rest of the men were U. S. Infantry, regular troops.

While Morgan was passing around Cincinnati, there were indications of a riot, or an uprising of sympathizers with the rebels in some of the worst districts of the city. General Burnside sent for me to bring over all the troops I could muster with horses. I did so, and could find no stables in which to keep the horses over night. General Burnside told me to make a stable of one of the parks, near Fountain Square. Objection was made, but I used the park for a stable that night. I slept with General Burnside, and we talked over the situation. It was thought Morgan might attempt to enter the city, and lay it in ashes. However there was no uprising, and Morgan continued his raid on through the state. I called Burnside's attention to the way Morgan was going where he pleased, and told him Morgan would never be taken with horses and troops following in his rear, and gave him as my opinion that the only

way to capture Morgan would be with railway trains loaded with troops, and thus get ahead of him.

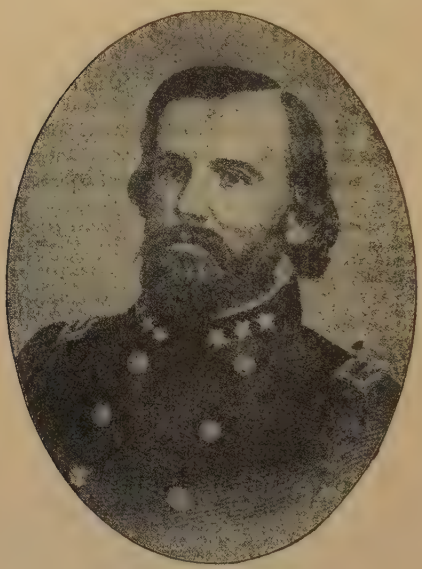
About three days later, Burnside summoned me to his headquarters, and informed me I was to go after Morgan. He gave me orders on the government stores for carbines, sabers, and ammunition. He ordered me to take all of the very best horses out of the thousand in the Covington Barracks, and mount every available man who could ride a horse. I soon had over four hundred well armed men, with plenty of ammunition. Most of them were U. S. regular troops. I selected the very best horses, and went with my little command to the Little Miami depot.

Burnside had three trains, one for the men, one for the horses, and one for a battery of artillery, under Lieutenant Tarr. We reached Columbus Friday morning. Morgan having burned one of the Panhandle bridges, my trains were transferred to the B. & O. We reached Bellaire in the evening. Burnside wired me orders to leave the train there, and intercept Morgan as he came into that town that night. I unloaded men, horses and artillery, but Morgan came not.

Burnside ordered me next morning to go by trains about fifty miles up the river, and then take the first road out into the country and hunt for Morgan. I did not wait for the artillery to be reloaded at Bellaire. As soon as men and horses were on the trains, I ordered them pulled out, and left instructions for the artillery to follow. I did not leave the train at Steubenville, but got word through scouts, who had come in, that Morgan was heading for Salineville. I proceeded up the river, to what was then known as Shaghai station. After unloading my command, I took the shortest road to Wintersville, and got there late in the afternoon, just a little while after the Wintersville fight. Morgan had got away again, and was heading for some point on the C. & P. R. R., which runs up Big Yellow Creek. As it was nearly night, I concluded to go into camp, after going two or three miles from Wintersville in the direction Morgan was traveling.

About midnight General Shackleford came into my camp. He was camping about two miles away. His scouts had in-

formed him of my presence in the neighborhood, and he came over to find out what troops were in camp. I told him I was acting under orders from Burnside. He asked me to join with him in chasing Morgan the next day. This was Saturday night. I consented on condition that I be allowed to ride to the front, and head Morgan off, while Major May, with the Seventh Michigan Cavalry would attack from the rear. I called attention to my fresh men and splendid horses. Shackleford was reluctant to have me do this, but finally consented.



GEN. JOHN H. MORGAN.

At the break of day, Sunday morning, my command was in the saddle and off over the Jefferson county hills for Hammondsville. I learned there that Morgan was heading for Salineville, to which place I at once proceeded, arriving there shortly after nine o'clock. I learned that Morgan's advance had reached the edge of Salineville, and discovering the presence of many Union troops, fled back towards Monroeville to inform their command. At about the same time, the Seventh Michigan, under Major Way, came through Monroeville and attacked Morgan's rear. Morgan instructed his rear guard to hold the Michigan troops in check, and put up a stiff fight. While this was going on, Morgan led the most of his command down a steep decline, and over the hills, away to the west. Virtually, turning on his tracks, he sacrificed the forty troops of his rear guard, a number of whom were wounded, and others taken prisoners by Major Way. These prisoners were brought into Salineville just after I arrived there. I recognized a number of

them personally. They were rebels from my home county in Kentucky. Some I had known from boyhood.

At Salineville, I learned from scouts and telegraph operators that Morgan had crossed the C. & P. railroad and that his column was leisurely moving down the West Beaver road, which ran along the north side of the creek, some ten or twelve miles distant from Salineville. I lost no time and took the road leading towards the creek. When I got on the high ground, near a church, I met a man on horseback riding a good horse. He looked like an intelligent fellow, and I inquired where he was going and from whence he came. He said he was looking for Morgan. I asked him if he was acquainted with the roads leading to West Beaver creek. He said he was, and stated that he was a physician, and had practiced medicine all along the West Beaver valley for a number of years. I told him he was just the fellow I was looking for, and that if he would go with me, and show me the shortest roads, leading to the creek, I would promise to find Morgan for him before noon. He sized me up, and looked over my men, and turning his horse around said, "Come on." When we got to the high ground which overlooks the broad valley for several miles, I saw a cloud of dust arising over a mile away. I asked the doctor, he told me his name, but I do not recall it now, if the West Beaver creek was over where we saw the cloud of dust. The doctor said the dust was rising from the West Beaver road. It follows the creek, down the north side for several miles, where it leaves the creek and leads to the Ohio river. When I first saw the cloud of dust it was rising slowly. Soon it began to move faster. The doctor told me the road over which we were traveling crossed the creek and intercepted the road down the creek about two miles away. Morgan was traveling towards the point where these two roads came together. I had much the greater distance to travel. I at once ordered my command into a brisk trot.

About this time my command commenced to throw some dust. Morgan evidently soon noticed the dust we were raising, and his guides must have informed him that the road over which we were traveling led into the road which was leading him towards the goal he was so anxious to reach, the Ohio river. Mor-

gan's tired horses were spurred into a faster gait, and he beat me to where the roads came together. Most of his command had passed the point before I reached the creek. I could only fall in his rear and give him a chase. This I did not want to do. I wanted to meet Morgan and his raiders face to face, and fight him to a finish. Here the doctor suggested that by riding down the creek, along which he said was a private road, not very good, but over which horses could travel nicely. I found the creek bottom was level, almost with the road. It was not very rocky, and was suitable for fast riding, because there was but little water at most places.

We rode down that creek bottom at a gallop, probably a mile and a half or two miles, until we found a private road leading from the creek up through the fields, past a barn to the main road. It was a fast ride, with good horses. I remember it well. I shall never forget it. As soon as we reached the main road we wheeled to the left, and rode to the crest of the first hill, up the creek. I found we were ahead of Morgan. I knew then I had him. I formed my command in line of battle across the road, quickly. My right rested in a bit of timberland, with the left of the line below the road, down in the orchard. I had scarcely placed my troops in position for a fight, when over the crest of a hill about a quarter of a mile away, appeared the heads of the horses of Morgan's advance troops. As soon as they saw me, they halted and drew back, leaving one or two men to watch our movements.

Soon afterwards three troopers came riding over the crest of the bill and down into the little valley which lay between the two opposing lines. One of the men had a bit of white muslin tied on a saber, or on a ramrod, which he was waiving. This I supposed was intended for a flag of truce. I sent three of my men forward to find out what was wanted. My troopers came back and reported that General Morgan demanded my surrender. I at once recognized that as a John Morgan bluff. I sent word to Morgan that he must surrender or fight Major Geo. W. Rue, of the Ninth Kentucky cavalry. This must have been a surprise to Morgan, and no doubt was the first intimation to him that I was not still in Kentucky.

This Stone Marks the Spot Where the
Confederate Raider, General John H. Morgan
Surrendered his Command to Major Geo. W Rue,
July 26, 1863, and is the Farthest
Point North Ever Reached by Any Body of
Confederate Troops During the Civil War

—o—

Erected by Will L. Thompson, East Liverpool, Ohio, 1909.

He next tried a ruse and sent back his men with a flag of truce, informing me that he had already surrendered to Captain Burdick. I had never heard of Captain Burdick until that moment. I inquired who he was, and to whose command he belonged. One of Morgan's men told me that Captain Burdick was captain of a militia company from a nearby town. I then sent word back to Morgan that I recognized no surrender, only one to myself, and informed his men that he must surrender or fight at once. They then went back to report, and in a few moments returned with the announcement that Morgan was willing to surrender to me.

I at once, with an escort, rode over into Morgan's camp. His men were lying on both sides of the road and nearly every one of them asleep. It was a hot July day and they were the tiredest lot of fellows I ever saw in my life. I rode quite a little distance through his men before I reached Morgan. When I met him he was on a fine Kentucky, thoroughbred sorrel mare, one that Morgan said was the only horse that came through from Kentucky, and which had withstood the strain of travel for twenty-seven consecutive days. Morgan was very loth to part with that sorrel mare. He gave the mare to me, supposing probably that I would take her back to Kentucky where he might some day have a chance to steal her back.

John Morgan was the prince of horse thieves. He stole more horses than any other man who ever lived on earth. Some of the farmers of Columbiana county knew something about Morgan's way of trading horses. He kept the Southern Confederacy supplied with the very best of Kentucky horses. For this reason Morgan was dearly loved by all the generals in the rebel army. They all loved a good horse, and John Morgan was a good source of supply. Well, I never got that sorrel mare. She was sent to Cincinnati, I learned, and by some means, I never could learn why, she was turned over to Shackleford.

General Shackleford was very tired when I left him at Salineville between nine and ten o'clock that last Sunday morning. With my splendid horses I soon left him far behind. I had to send two messengers after Morgan had surrendered, before he came up to Morgan's camp. He was about five miles back,

and had stopped at a farm house, where he was eating dinner. Neither Shackleford nor any of his troops took any part in the capture. The two of us escorted Morgan and his men to Salineville, and later to Wellsville, where General Brooks had arrived and made his headquarters.

When I first rode into Morgan's camp, I told him I was glad to see him, but I don't think he was glad to see me. I was operating an independent command under direct orders from General Burnside. I was even detached from duty with my regiment, which was with Shackleford, under Col. Jacobs. I had the authority to take Morgan and all my prisoners to Wellsville, and could have either turned them over to General Brooks, or have ordered up my special trains, and have placed Morgan on them and taken them back and delivered the whole command to General Burnside at Cincinnati.

However, I turned Morgan over to Shackleford, and he was sent from Wellsville to Cincinnati. Governor Tod telegraphed me to come to Columbus. He thanked me very much and complimented me on the quick capture of Morgan after I got after him. The governor went with me to see Gen. Burnside at Cincinnati. I told them both that John Morgan should be put in a safe place, where he could not steal any more horses, because he was supplying the rebel army with all the fresh thoroughbred horses they needed. They replied they had a safe place for him. Probably they thought they had. However, John Morgan was as wily as a fox, and as slippery as an eel. He stayed in the penitentiary only about three months.

Some folks say that Morgan dug a tunnel and crawled out, but others think a rebel woman from Covington, Kentucky, took thirty thousand dollars from Kentucky rebels, who loved John Morgan, and went to Columbus, where she had no difficulty in fixing fellows in charge of the penitentiary, or on duty there, so that Morgan and his comrades gained their freedom.

EARLY STEAMBOAT TRAVEL ON THE OHIO RIVER.

BY LESLIE S. HENSHAW, CINCINNATI, OHIO.

October, 1911, marks a centennial of considerable importance to the Western country, for it was in that month in 1811, that the first steamboat on Western waters, passed down the Ohio River. The boat, a "side-wheeler",[1] was built at Pittsburgh, under the direction of Nicholas J. Roosevelt of New York, an agent of Fulton, the inventor, and Livingston, the financial aid, and was called the "New Orleans."[2] It passed Cincinnati on the twenty-seventh of October[3] and arrived at Louisville on the twenty-eighth.[4] The Cincinnati newspaper, "Liberty Hall", in its issue of Wednesday, October thirtieth, 1811, adds a small note to commercial and ship news to the following effect: "On Sunday last, the steamboat lately built at Pittsburgh passed this town at 5 o'clock in the afternoon in fine *stile,* going at the rate of about 10 or 12 miles an hour." The water was too low to allow passage over the falls, so to prove that it could navigate against the current, the boat made several trips between Louisville and Cincinnati and, on November twenty-seventh, arrived at Cincinnati in forty-five hours from the falls.[5] When the water rose, the "New Orleans" proceeded on its way towards its destination and arrived at Natchez, late in December[6] and plied as a regular packet between Natchez and New Orleans for several years.

Following the "New Orleans", a group of boats was built at Pittsburgh; the "Comet" under the French patent; the "Vesuvius" and the "Aetna" on the Fulton plan. In the meantime, Brownsville had entered the field as a steamboat building town, for the "Enterprise" was constructed there and later, the engine for the "Washington," under the supervision of Captain Henry M. Shreve, while the boat itself was built at Wheeling. This boat by its voyage in 1817, from Shippingport to New Orleans and back in forty-five days, convinced the skeptical public that steamboat navigation would succeed on Western

Waters.[7] In 1816, Cincinnati built its first boat, the "Vesta," which was followed by the "Comet," the "Eagle," the "Hecla," the "Henderson," the "Cincinnati," the "Perseverance," the "Paragon," the "General Pike," the first boat on Western Waters for the exclusive use of passengers.[8] The industry made inevitable advances and Drake and Mansfield in their book, "Cincinnati at the Close of 1826," estimate the number of steamboats that have navigated on Western Waters as 233; 143 then existing; 48 being built at Cincinnati, 35 at Pittsburgh, 10 at New Albany, 7 at Marietta, 5 at Louisville and 4 in New York.

The beginning of the steamboat trade for passengers as well as freight, was a record of many disheartening circumstances. Contrary to what one might expect, after the advent of the steamboat, the old and slow method of carrying freight on flatboats and keels increased as it was cheaper and considered surer. The lack of confidence shown by the people, themselves, which seems to be inevitable at the commencement of any new industry and enterprise, was only one of the serious obstacles in the way. Not only was the river bed uneven and dotted with dangerous snags, gravel and sandbars but the falls at Louisville practically cut river navigation in two, for, save at short periods during the year when the water was high enough to permit boats to pass over them, all traffic stopped above and below them, necessitating slow and expensive transportation around the falls. Gradually, however, the river bed was cleared, and, after a long, hard fight for a canal, one was eventually put through and the river trade, still existing, traveled rapidly to its zenith before the advent of railroads turned channels of trade into other directions.

The chronicles of travelers' experiences begin with the first boat and offer interesting insight into the general appearance and various attributes of the boats themselves and the industry in general. The travelers, usually Scotchmen or Englishmen and sometimes Germans or Americans from the East, wrote of incidents and happenings that show various features of steamboat life and steamboat travel, not found in other sources.

General Plan and Arrangements. Faux in his book, "Memorable Days in America," wrote, October twenty-sixth, 1819:

— "I boarded 'The Port Boy' (at Shippingport) which cost $50,000 and is intended only for passengers up and down the Ohio and Mississippi, containing fifty berths or beds, a separate dining room, a ladies' room and state-rooms with fine promenade at top, having three decks with all necessary and elegant appurtenances."

Bullock in a "Sketch of a Journey Through the Western States of North America, 1827," wrote, April 3, 1827:—"Left New Orleans in the beautiful steamboat 'Washington' of 375 tons, built at Cincinnati and certainly the finest fresh water vessel I have seen. There are three decks or stories above water, and accommodations are excellent. The cabins are furnished in a most superb manner. None of the sleeping rooms have more than two beds; the principal ones are on the upper story and a gallery or verandah extends entirely round the vessel, affording ample space for exercise, sheltered from the sun and rain and commanding a fine view of the surrounding scenery; the ladies have a separate cabin, with female attendants and laun-dresses; there is a circulating library, smoking and drinking rooms for gentlemen and numerous offices for servants."

Mrs. Trollope in "Domestic Manners of Americans" wrote: — "On the first of January, 1828, we embarked on board the 'Belvedere' at New Orleans, a large and handsome boat, though not the largest and handsomest of the many which displayed themselves along the wharves. We found the room, destined for the use of ladies, dismal enough, as its only windows were below the stern gallery but both this and the gentlemen's cabin were handsomely fitted up — the former well carpeted." And later, she said, "We quitted Cincinnati, March, 1830, and got on board the steamboat which was to carry us to Wheeling at three o'clock. She was a noble boat, by far the finest we had seen. The cabins were above and deck passengers, as they are called, were accommodated below. In front of the ladies' cabin, was an ample balcony sheltered by an awning; chairs and sofas were placed there and nearly all the female passengers passed the whole day there."

James Stuart in "Three Years in North America" wrote, April, 1830, at New Orleans: — "'The Constitution' is of four

hundred tons burden, one hundred and thirty horse power. On her lower deck are engines, engineers and firemen. The second deck, which only extended from the stern of the boat, three-quarters of the way, that is, 90 feet of the 120 feet to her bows, was the cabin for passengers, surrounded by a gallery or verandah. Above the passenger's cabin, was a cabin for deck passengers. A part of the passengers' cabin next the stern of the vessel, is partitioned off for the ladies. On the sides of the gentlemen's cabin are their state-rooms, twenty in number in this vessel."

Patrick Shirreff in "A Tour Through North America, 1835" wrote: — "Next morning, I embarked on board 'The Champlain' (at Louisville) for Cincinnati, an excellent vessel, with the cabin in the bow; the lower part is allotted for stowing away heavy freight, the boilers are placed in the bow, with a cabin behind and one immediately above for the ladies."

Edmund Flagg in "The Far West", in 1836, described the appearance of a steamer at Louisville from the standpoint of one on land and said: — "A gay hurrah of music arrested our attention and looking up, I perceived the packet boat 'Lady Marshall', dropped from the moorings at the quay, her decks swarming with passengers and under high pressure of steam, holding her bold course against the current, while the merry dashing of wheels, mingling with the mild clang of martial music, imparted an air almost of romance to the scene. There are few objects more truly grand, I had almost said sublime, than a powerful steamer struggling triumphantly with the rapids of Western Waters."

Eliza R. Steele gave an interesting comparison between steamers of the East and those of the West. In "A Summer Journey in the West", she wrote from St. Louis, July 14, 1840: — "These boats are very different from those used upon our Eastern waters. Our cabins and saloons, you know, are upon the same deck, with the machinery and dining rooms below, while above is a fine long promenade deck. When you enter one of these boats, you step upon the lowest deck, having machinery in the center, while the ends are covered with freight or deck passengers who can not pay the cabin fare. Ascending the

stairway, you find yourself upon the guards — a walk extending all around the boat like a narrow piazza from which several doors open into the rooms. The whole deck here is thrown into three apartments; the ladies' cabin at the stern, having state-rooms around it, opening upon the deck and into the cabin; from this, folding doors lead into the dining room, surrounded with gentlemen's berths; beyond this is the bar-room, from which you pass into an open space, where around two smoke pipes, the male passengers assemble to smoke and chat. The ladies' cabin is handsomely furnished with every convenience, and, in some instances, with a piano. Above this, is yet another deck called the hurricane deck. This is the best situation for viewing the scenery, were it not for the steam pipes which, as these are high pressure boats, sends out the steam with a loud burst like a person short of breath."

These quotations would not be complete without that of Charles Dickens who, in his "American Notes, Made During a Visit to America in 1842" in his well-known style, stated, that, in going from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati, in a Western steamboat, "'The Messenger' is a high pressure boat, carrying forty passengers, exclusive of poorer persons on the lower deck. There was no mast, cordage, tackle or rigging, only a long, ugly roof, two towering, iron chimneys, and below on the sides, the doors and windows of the state-rooms; the whole supported on beams and pillars, resting on a dirty barge, but a few inches above the water's edge, and in this narrow space between the upper structure and this barge's deck are the furnace fires and machinery, open at the sides.

"Within, there is one long, narrow cabin, the whole length of the boat, from which state-rooms open on both sides, a small portion of it in the stern, partitioned off for the ladies; and the bar at the opposite extreme. There is a long table down the center, and at either end a stove."

From these quotations, it may be seen that, even when the steamboat building industry was young and when expenses for material and construction were very high, there was no great essential variety in plan; the machinery was usually on the first deck, with freight and deck passengers; the main cabin on the

second deck, with deck space at the bow and down the sides around the cabin; the cabin with men's state-rooms on either side, and dining table in the middle; the stern portion of the cabin partitioned off for women; the upper deck for promenade, sometimes for deck passengers — somewhat similar to general arrangements on river boats at the present time, although to-day, deck passengers are only occasionally carried. The one notable exception is Shirreff's description, written in 1835, where the boilers were in the bow, with the main cabin behind and cabin for women passengers above evidently a "two-decker" and not a "three-decker" as most of the boats were.

Fuel. All the early boats, beginning with the "New Orleans" on her first journey, used wood for fuel.[9] Stuart, in 1830, wrote: — "The stopping place for wood was occupied by a tenant who pays $400 an acre of yearly rent for a few acres of ground. The most of his money is made by cutting and preparing wood for steamboats. 'The Constitution' (400 tons) uses about 26 cords of wood per day, a cord consisting of about 128 cubic feet, selling for $1.50 to $3.00 per cord. The average price in Western rivers is rather above than below $2.00 per cord. On the Ohio, the wood is proportionately cheaper, about $1.50 and in some places $1.25 a cord." Later in that same year, he wrote: — "The wood for these vessels going up this part of the Ohio (from Cincinnati) is placed in boats, lashed to the side of the steamboat, so wood is got into the boats while proceeding on the voyage; as soon as the wood is taken out of the wood boat, it is set at liberty and the current carries it home."[10]

Shirreff in 1835, said: — "The vessels on the waters of the valley of the Mississippi, burn wood and supplies are found everywhere on the banks of the rivers, which are speedily conveyed on board, with the assistance of deck passengers, who are bound to aid in the operation. I was surprised at the vessels not using coal, which is very abundant in many places on the banks and could be transported to a place where it is not. None of the furnaces are, at present, constructed for burning coal."[11]

Evans Lloyd in "Travels in the Interior of North America by Maximilian, Prince of Wied" (1843) stated that "in many places stacks of wood were piled up for steamboats and some

were already in boats. Cords of wood for steamboats were lying ready piled upon the bank, stating the price and quantity."

According to the Latrobe account in the "Rambles in North America," the crew of the "New Orleans" on her first voyage, had to go ashore and cut the wood that they needed but, after the steamboat trade was well on its way towards organization and success, the use of wood for fuel was systematized and there were regular stopping places, with wood ready for use, as told in the diaries, just quoted from.

Passengers. Passengers on board these boats were of two distinct kinds; first, *"deck"* passengers, immigrants, flat boat men, returning from New Orleans and others who could not pay the regular fare, and usually paid part of the passage by assisting in replenishing the boat with fuel; second, *"cabin"* passengers, merchants and business men or "fashionables" traveling for pleasure. From the standpoint of the cabin passenger, Mrs. Trollope wrote, (going up the Mississippi from New Orleans): —"We have a full complement of passengers aboard, the decks, as is usual, were occupied by Kentucky flatboat men, returning from New Orleans, after having disposed of the boat and cargo which they had conveyed thither. We have about two hundred of these men on board but the part of the vessel occupied by them is so distinct from our cabins, that we never saw them except when we stopped to take in wood; and then they ran, or rather sprung and vaulted over each other's heads to the shore whence they all assisted in carrying wood to supply the steam engine; the performance of this duty being a stipulated part of the payment of their passage."[12]

Stuart said: "Deck passengers are persons who play comparatively a trifling sum of passage money, who bring provisions with them and cook them, themselves, in their cabin and, in general, are bound to give assistance in carrying wood for the firemen and furnaces, into the vessel at various stopping places."[13]

From the standpoint of a deck passenger, John B. Wyeth in "Oregon or a Short History of a Long Journey" (1833) wrote: "Our captain to lessen the expenses of the expedition, bargained with the captain of the steamboat, so that we of the band should assist in taking on board wood from shore."

Meals. Stuart, on board the "Constitution," up from New Orleans, stated: "The dinners on board this steamboat are very abundant; poultry and animal food being procured at a very cheap rate at various stopping places. Passengers have the first dinner table; the mate, the pilots, etc., the second; the stewards, engineers, etc., the third." On board the "Reindeer," up from Cincinnati, he said: "The hours for meals on this boat were 6:00 for breakfast, 11:30 for dinner, 5:30 for supper." [14]

Shirreff, going from St. Louis to Cincinnati, said: "Three times a day, the table was stored with supplies of animal, food and vegetables so very ample, that on one occasion, I remembered thirty-one dishes placed on a supper table, for twenty-two passengers and perhaps, in no instance was there ever less than one dish for each individual. The food was coarsely prepared and all placed on the table at once and nearly cold before the company sat down. There was always a second company consisting of part of the boat's establishment and such deck passengers as chose to pay for their food; and sometimes a third company collected. The succession of companies received no addition to the fare originally placed on the table and such an injudicious arrangement was the means of making it less palatable to all. The vessel called three or four times a day at different places, yet on one occasion, bread could not be had for breakfast and milk or cream were more than once awanting, without any notice being being taken of it at table." [15]

Mrs. Steele, July 21, 1840, going up from Cincinnati, wrote: "I have said very little about the cooking and victuals upon these western boats. The latter are very good and finer beef, fish, bread, etc., cannot be found anywhere." [16] Dickens, traveling from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati, wrote, "We were on board 'The Messenger' three days. There were three meals a day, breakfast at seven, dinner at half past twelve, supper about six." These accounts show that the food was abundant and served with regularity." [47]

Social Life on Board. Mrs. Trollope, traveling from Cincinnati to Wheeling, wrote, March, 1830: "In front of the ladies' cabin was an ample balcony sheltered by an awning; chairs and

sofas were placed there and nearly all the female passengers passed the whole day there. Of the male passengers we saw nothing, excepting at the short, silent periods, allotted for breakfast, dinner and supper at which we were permitted to enter their cabin and place ourselves at the table. The separation of the sexes is nowhere more remarkable than one board the steamboat. It is true that the men become sufficiently acquainted to game together, and we were told that the opportunity was considered so favorable that no boat left New Orleans without having as cabin passengers one or two gentlemen from that city, whose profession it was to drill the fifty-two elements of a pack of cards to profitable duty. This, doubtless, is an additional reason for the strict exclusion of the ladies from their society. The constant drinking of spirits is another, for though they do not scruple to chew tobacco in the presence of women, they generally prefer drinking and gaming in their absence."[18]

Stuart wrote: "Three hours passed away before the passengers were collected and the 'Constitution' actually started. In the meantime, spirits of all kinds were on the sideboard and every one that came into the boat was invited to drink as much as he liked. This course was followed during the whole of the voyage. Every person employed on the boat and all who came on board during the voyage to sell wood or anything else, had it in their power to take as much spirits as they liked. Even the firemen, all of them slaves, had whiskey at their command. Yet I never saw an intoxicated person on the vessel. There are about twenty passengers on the boat, of whom five or six are females, the male passengers generally read and write, play at draughts, a favorite game in the United States, or at back gammon, or at curb. A greater number seem to be engaged at brag than at any other occupation; but they neither play for much money nor late at night, nor on Sunday. The pilots and the mate often join this party for an hour or two. One person left the boat when we got to the Ohio, who makes a trade of voyaging in the steamboats to make money by play. He was said to have carried off about one hundred dollars, and to be well contented with his gains. This shows the nature of the play. I did not hear of anyone losing more than twenty or thirty

dollars. People of all different stations together on perfectly equal terms during the voyage." [19]

Shirreff wrote (going from St. Louis to Louisville): "The ladies were never seen but at meals, keeping their own cabin at other times; the gentlemen were well dressed and invariably civil to each other. The captain was an unassuming person, whose voice was seldom heard and never in connection with an oath, either in the cabin or amongst the crew. Some officers of the army and one or two others passed part of the evening in playing cards, at a game at which they did not seem to hazard high stakes. On such occasions, I was sometimes amused at the group assembled around the table. Military men of highest rank, when eagerly intent on the game, were joined by the steward boys, without their coats, familiarly seating themselves at table and looking on the hands of cards.

"The passengers drank in the greatest moderation in my sight, only taking a tumbler of spirits and water, occasionally, when playing at cards and never taking wine or any kind of spirits at table. I did not observe a person of any description on board, during the voyage, that appeared in the least degree intoxicated. The cabin being in the stern of the vessel I spent much of my time in the forecastle, for the purpose of seeing the scenery, which brought me in contact with the crew and many of the deck passengers. In this class of people, I found a considerable change of manner from any I had formerly come in contact with. Many of them swore disgustingly and possessed a certain levity and coarseness of manner, but in no instance did I experience incivility."

Passing from Louisville to Cincinnati, Shirreff said: "'The Champlain' was well filled with passengers, * * * some of whom after dinner filled the berths of others without ceremony, stretching themselves at full length, with their boots on, and sleeping for hours." [20]

Mrs. Steele wrote: "Our passengers consist of a party of fashionables, on a jaunt of pleasure to Sulphur Springs, Virginia, some traveling merchants and several persons visiting the towns upon the river. Our mornings on board are generally very sociable, the ladies sitting with the gentlemen of their party,

upon the guards, or gathering in groups with their work, while the male passengers are smoking, talking politics or gambling. The negro banjo and merry laugh or joke of some son of Erin echoes up from the lower deck; but in the afternoon the siesta is the fashion and everyone turns into his berth to take a nap." [21]

"Democracy is the one striking feature of the social life aboard the river steamers—as almost every writer mentions the fact that men of varying degree in social status, smoked and talked, gambled and drank together. However, drinking is represented as moderate, and gambling, although professional gamblers rode on the Mississippi River steamboat did not seem to be for high stakes. Women evidently passed quiet and uneventful, but withal pleasant hours on their journey."

Delays at Starting. Stuart stated: "'The Constitution' was to sail at ten o'clock in the morning of the fifth of April but three hours passed away before the passengers were collected and she actually started." [22]

Flagg said: "Steamers on the great waters of the West are well known to indulge in no violent conscientious scruples upon the subject of punctuality, and a solitary exception at our behest or in our humble behalf, was, to be sure, not an event to be counted on. There's dignity in being waited for; hour after hour, therefore, still found us amid untold scenes and sounds of a public landing. It is true, and, to the tremendous honor of all concerned be it recorded, very true it is, our doughty steamer ever and anon would puff and blow like a porpoise or a narwhal, and then she would swelter from every pore and quiver in every limb, with ponderous laboring of her huge enginery, and the steam would shrilly whistle and shriek like a spirit in its confinement, till at length, she united her whirlwind voice to the general roar around; and all this indicated indubitably, an intention to be off and away; but a knowing one was he who could determine the when." [23]

Mrs. Steele wrote, July 14, 1840: "At two o'clock we went on board the steamboat 'Monsoon' (at St. Louis) in which we were to go to Cincinnati. Every minute we expected to go, but hour after hour passed away and still we did not move." July 15th, she wrote: "It was ten o'clock this morning before we

started and then discovered that it was the arrival of a large party of St. Louis fashionables which had kept us stationary, and who, instead of coming as expected, chose to remain to attend a party that night.

"We, who have been used to the punctuality of our Eastern cities, where the captain stands, watch in hand, to give the signal for moving at the appointed moment, were extremely annoyed at such proceedings; but before we grumble too much, it may be as well to look upon the other side of the question. The steamers upon these rivers make long voyages and require more freight and passengers to pay their expenses." [24]

Buckingham wrote: "At ten o'clock, we left the hotel of Brownsville for the steamboat which was to convey us to Pittsburgh. The name of the steamer was 'The Exact' but in this instance, it did not justify its claim to such a name; for, though the advertised hour of departure was ten o'clock, it was nearly an hour past noon before we left the landing." Later, he said, "On Friday, the twenty-second of May, we embarked in the Maysville Packet, 'Surftoure,' from Cincinnati; to descend the river Ohio. The hour set for departure was ten o'clock and the assurance given by the captain was that we should reach Maysville at seven. Instead of this, we did not leave till twelve, nor arrive till nearly ten—such are the uncertainties and irregularities of packet boats." [25]

The rivermen, then, as now were not overcareful of scheduled hours for starting; these modern days with trains pulling out at the very instant, still have the steamboat which is frequently held at the wharf for several hours after the advertised hour for departure.

Time of Passage. Stuart said: "Our progress was six miles an hour against the stream." (up the Ohio from Cincinnati.)[26] Buckingham stated in going from Portsmouth to Cincinnati in April: "The river being very full at this time, from the long continued heavy rain, within a few feet of the surface of the soil in many parts, we glided along at a rapid rate, the boat going at ten, the current about four miles an hour so that our actual progress was at the rate of fourteen." [27]

Flint wrote July 26, 1820, "I have come from the Falls of

the Ohio to Cincinnati by steamboat in twenty-six hours, six and one-fourth miles an hour, average; and on the down passage in fifteen hours about twelve miles an hour." On October 13, 1820, he wrote: "I made the journey up from Cincinnati in what was considered to be a very small boat; on computing the velocity of the water wheel, I found that the boat could move at the rate of eight and one-half miles per hour." [28]

James said: "We proceeded on our voyage (below the Falls) with a pressure of steam equalling one hundred pounds to the square inch, upon all parts of the engine exposed to its immediate operation. This enabled us to descend at the rate of ten miles an hour." [29] These time records, varying from six to eight and one-half miles, up stream, and ten to fourteen miles an hour, down steam, sound very slow, but at the time of the early steamboat, weeks were consumed in journeys on land, that steam transportation on the water, reduced to days.

Races. The race, the result of pride, is a custom which still prevails, as one boat always tries to prevent another from passing it. Mrs. Steele described one of these races, as follows: "While the crew and passengers were amusing themselves, we were aroused by the cry, 'The Ione is coming! Away, boys, Away!' and bounding over the shore, they were soon in the boat. The Ione was in view, which we had left behind us, and it was feared it would arrive in Cincinnati before us. The hands were working with all their might; the paddle threw up a whirl of foam; steam whizzed, pipes snorted; engineer's bells tinkled, and away we went, hurry, skurry after our rivals had passed us with a triumphant cheer. Straining every rope and piece of machinery we soon shot ahead of the presumptuous 'Ione,' ringing our bell and shouting in our turn. She was determined not to be outdone and a regular race came on. Hour after hour of the night passed away, as we rushed through the waters, with our foe just in our rear. 'Hurra! fling on more wood!' was the cry from below. High blazed the furnace fire, illuminating the water around, the steam increased, the engine worked madly, the boat strained, and groaned at every stroke, and seemed actually to spring out of the water. Behind us came our rival, puffing, ranting, snorting, throwing out volumes of flames and sparks,

and, as she came near, we could see her lower deck, where, around the fierce fire, shadowy forms were rushing, working, carrying wood and heaping it on, shouting and cursing. One strain too much, one upright snag in our path, and we should all be strewed, some one hundred souls, upon the water, writhing, agonizing, dying, and all for what? That we might arrive one hour sooner in the night at Cincinnati, where we should be obliged to lie still till morning; or perhaps it was the honor of beating another boat. Our rival, unable to compete with us, abandoned the race and was soon left behind." [30]

Flagg described an accident, directly attributable to a race as follows: "As we were passing St. Genevieve an accident occurred which had nearly proved fatal to our boat, if not to the lives of all on board her. In a race which took place between another steamer and our own, in some unaccountable manner, this boat, which then passed us, fell again in the rear, and now for the last hour had been coming up in our wake under high steam. On overtaking us, she, contrary to all rules and regulations for the navigation of rivers, to pass between our boat and the bank, beneath which we were moving; an outrage which, had it been persisted in a moment longer than was fortunately the case, would have sent us to the bottom. For a single instant, she came rushing on, contact seemed inevitable. The pilot contrary to the express injunctions of the master reversed the motion of the wheels, just at the instant to avoid a fatal encounter. The sole cause for this outrage was private pique, existing between pilots of the respective steamers." [31]

Help to Other Boats. The intense rivalry between boats which caused them to risk all sorts of dangers in races and built up so spiteful a feeling that intentional collisions were numerous, did not prevent, the development of the "Good Samaritan" spirit and boats in distress were often aided by enemies who under different circumstances, would have had no pity. The Atwater Sons in 1829, going from Cincinnati to Louisville, stated that "they descended rapidly until they overtook a boat that had met with some mishap, which prevented the use of steam; the captain hove to, went on board the other vessel and delayed the passage by towing it along down the river with them." [32]

Mrs. Trollope wrote: "Several steamboats passed, while we were thus enthralled, (aground) but some were not strong enough to attempt drawing us off, and some attempted it but were not strong enough to succeed at length, a vast and mighty thing of life approached, threw out grappling irons and in three minutes, the work was done." [33]

Experiences at the Falls. Edwin James in his "Account of an Expedition to the Rocky Mountains" (1819-1820) said: "At Louisville, we stopped to procure a pilot to conduct our boat over the rapids. Two or three pilots appointed pursuant to an act of the Legislature of Kentucky, reside at Louisville, always holding themselves in readiness to go on board such boats as are about to descend the rapids and leaving them again at shipping post and receive two dollars for each act or raft. Large boats ascend the rapids at the time of the spring floods by the aid of a cable, made fast to a tree or some other object above and taken in by the capstan. Large steamboats ascend as far as shipping post, several of them remain at this place during the months of the summer, when the water is too low to admit their passing up and down the river."

Mrs. Trollope wrote: "The passengers are obliged to get out below the Falls and travel by land to Louisville, where they find the vessels ready to receive them for the remainder of the voyage. We were spared this inconvenience by the water being too high for the rapids to be much felt but it will soon be altogether removed by the Louisville canal coming into operation, which will permit steamboats to continue their progress from below the Falls to the river." [34]

William Cullen Bryant in "Illinois, Fifty Years Ago" stated that, "The Falls at Louisville are avoided by means of a canal through which steamboats of ordinary size which navigate the Ohio, pass, but large steamboats plying between Louisville and New Orleans stop below the Falls. We left Louisville at three o'clock P. M.; the river being very high, the captain announced his intention of going over the Falls. The Falls are divided by a little, low, narrow island, on the north side of which is what is called the 'Illinois Shoot,' on the south side the 'Kentuckian Shoot.' We took the 'Illinois Shoot' and when we ar-

rived at the northern waters, it was evident from the circumspection of the captain, the frequent turns we were obliged to make, the slackening of the speed of the boat, that the channel was very narrow. In one place, the narrowness of the channel among craggy rocks, produced a great inequality on the surface of the stream so that the waves were like that of the sea. In passing over it, the boat reeled and swung to and fro, turning upon first one side of its keel, then the other, obliging the passengers to seize hold of something to keep them upright, and frightening the inmates of the ladies' cabin. It was over in a moment, however." [35]

Shirreff said: "We, at last, reached what was termed the Falls of the Ohio, a name given to a succession of rapids caused by a stratem of rocks crossing the channel of the river, which form the only obstruction to navigation in the whole course of the Ohio. When the river is high, vessels pass up and down the falls and when low, through the canal lately opened on the south side of Louisville and extending nearly two miles." [36]

Quoting from Maximilian, the statement was: "In the afternoon, we left Louisville to embark at Portland below the town, on account of the Falls of the Ohio, that now cannot be navigated past the town and therefore a canal has been made, where, by the aid of five sluices, the boats are raised twenty-two feet. Those who land at Louisville, embark at Portland, where there is generally a great number of steamboats." [37]

Mrs. Steele wrote: "July 18th, now approaching the Falls of the Ohio, which are rapids caused by a ledge of blue limestone rocks which reach across the river and impede navigation except in very high water. To avoid this, a canal is cut across the bed of the river, two and one-half miles in length to Louisville. This canal is excavated out of compact limestone and the cut is in some places ten feet deep. There are four locks. There is a small place called shipping post at the mouth of the canal, where we observed several handsome carriages in waiting for them who thus preferred it, to the slower operation of ascending twenty-two feet of lockage. Here were several steamboats moored. As we entered the second lock, the 'North Star,' a fine boat of 148 tons, came dashing into the lock we had left,

and when we had both ascended, the 'Maine,' which we had passed upon the river yesterday, entered the first lock so that we had the novel spectacle of three large steamboats filled with merchandise and passengers, all, at one time, rising and falling in several locks." [38]

Accidents. One of the most striking charactertistics of the early steamboat trade is the attitude of practical indifference to the frequeut accidents, of varying degrees of seriousness. Indeed, an accident was accepted as a mere matter of course. Liberty Hall, September 20, 1814, contained a testimonial, dated New Orleans, July 26, signed by the passengers, which stated the cause of the accident that destroyed the first boat, the "New Orleans." The boat stopped to take on wood, the evening of July 13: "The night was so dark and rainy that the captain considered it most prudent to secure the boat for the night. He then commenced taking in wood and repaired the machinery which had been disordered. After the wood was on board, he sounded all around and found plenty of water. She appeared to lay along side of a steep bank and from the apparent safety and security of the situation, all the passengers retired to rest, free from apprehension or fear of danger. Early in the morning, preparations were made for departing, and, at daylight, the engine was put in motion but the vessel would only swing round and could not be forced forward by the steam. The water had fallen during the night from sixteen to eighteen inches; the captain then concluded she had lodged on a stump and endeavored to push her off with a spar against the bank, but without effect. He immediately satisfied himself it was a stump and found it by feeling with an oar, about fifteen or twenty feet aloft the wheel on the starboard side,[39] he then ordered the wood thrown overboard, got an anchor out of starboard quarter and with the steam capstan, hove her off, when she immediately sprung a leak which increased so rapidly that time was only allowed to make fast again to shore, the passengers to escape with their baggage and crew with assistance from shore, saved a great part of the cargo, when she sunk alongside the bank."

Mrs. Trollope described an accident which occurred on her journey: "Proceeding northward, a sudden and violent shock

startled us frightfully. 'It is a sawyer!' said one. 'It's a snag!' cried another. 'We are aground,' exclaimed the captain. Two breakfasts, two dinners and a supper, did the poor English ladies eat, with the Ohio and Kentucky gentlemen before they moved on north." [40]

Stuart wrote, April, 1830: "The steamboats that navigate the Mississippi are very various in kind, accommodations and management. Accidents are so frequent upon western rivers that great care should be taken to select a vessel in which captain and mate, engineers and pilots, are well-known to be skillful and trustworthy persons." Going up the Mississippi from New Orleans, he stated: "Not long after we had gone to bed on the first evening, I was awoke by the cry of 'Stop her!' 'Stop her!' We had touched a snag but without injuring the vessel. The cry became so frequent during the night that it soon ceased to alarm us or interest anyone but those engaged in the navigation of the vessel. We were, however, very frequently obliged to lay to during the night, if it was at all dark that we might not run too great a risk."

"On the forenoon of the twelfth of April, were so unlucky as to break one of the upright shafts on board 'The Constitution' which forced a pause of nearly twenty-four hours, in order to get it replaced by one that was ready to supply it in the boat." [41]

Going up the Ohio from Cincinnati, he stated that "there was one trifling accident, one of the wheel was damaged by a snag on a dark night and everything was put right in two hours."

Maximilian, going down from Louisville, wrote: "Later the engine was out of order and we were forced to lie to on the Indiana side, to repair it. At nightfall our engine was repaired." [42]

Mrs. Steele, on a trip from St. Louis to Cincinnati, told that "I left the cabin and walked about on the shady side of the guards. All was still except the booming steam pipe; every one was asleep or reading. I leaned over the railing and found the banjo player and his audience all in slumbering attitudes or swinging in their hammocks and everything denoted silence and repose. Suddenly, there was a terrific and resounding bang, clang and clatter, as if our boat had been crushed to atoms; the wheel

house was broken in places, the boards flew over me, and a torrent of water, flowing from it, nearly washed me from the deck. In a moment, every one tumbled out and rushed upon the deck. exclaiming, 'What's the matter!' 'Are we snagged?' 'Has the boiler burst?' 'Is it a sawyer?' The old Kentucky lady, who had stepped out first, said quietly: 'It's only a log,' 'Ah, only a log.' 'Nothing but a log!' echoed from every mouth and returning to their cabins, they all stepped into their berths again. I looked around me in amazement. 'Only a log,' said I to myself, 'and what is a log!' The steamboat is broken and stops, all is confusion and crash and I am told it is nothing but a log." [42]

Buckingham stated, going from Brownsville to Pittsburgh, "We had scarcely been under way, before we learnt that there was but one wheel in action; the spindle of the other having been this morning under repair at the smith's forge and the paddle not yet fixed on it." [44] Flint, on a voyage up the river from Cincinnati during low water, said that "the vessel unexpectedly ran aground, so that an anchor was put out and it became necessary that every man on board work at the capstan." [45] Stuart stated: "Many accidents happen to steamboats from bursting of boilers. Great loss of life takes place but accidents occur so frequently on western rivers that they make far less impression than would be expected." [46]

Shirreff, on a journey from St. Louis to Cincinnati, said: "In the course of the night, one of the shafts broke and the vessel continued her voyage with one paddle." He observed that "the perishable nature of the western steamboats is no doubt, in part, owing to the material of which it is composed, and the navigation, which from currents, sand-bars, sunken trees and snags are most trying and dangerous." [47]

Buckingham described an accident which happened to the boat upon which he was riding, as follows: "At ten o'clock, we were reported to be still twenty miles from Pittsburgh; so that many of the passengers retired to their berths, intending to defer their landing until morning and even those who remained up were dozing by the stove. While this universal drowsiness hung over all, the profound stillness of the hour, was suddenly broken

by a violent concussion and loud crash, as if the vessel had been blown into the air. The force of the shock was sufficient to throw from their beds those who had retired and all who were in the foremost part of the boat, as soon as they could regain their footing, ran aft, as if the vessel were in imminent peril in the part from which they came. At the same instant that this crash was felt and heard, a large blaze of fire was seen at the bow; so that some thought the boiler had burst, some that gunpowder had exploded and some that the hull was on fire. It appeared that the captain, or pilot of a rival steamer, called 'The Royal' and much heavier than 'The Exact' in which we were, sought the opportunity to vent their ill-will against the competitor, by moving with all the force of their steam up and when going their greatest velocity, right across our bows. The stern of 'The Royal' struck the hull of 'The Exact,' about one quarter of her length from the bow, carried away all the bulwarks and gang way planks, knocked the boilers out of their beds, damaged the only sidewheel we had shipped and scattered by the shock nearly all the fire out of the stove; so that we were in danger of being sunk, burnt, blown up, all at the same time. Our only remedy was to haul in for the river's bank and lay the damaged hull ashore, which was done; then, after a delay of about an hour, we put things in sufficient order to enable us to proceed towards Pittsburgh." [48]

The early stages of any new invention is always a record of accidents, trifling as well as appalling and the indifference of the general public towards them was the same then, as now.

The general idea gained from the information that these travelers give, presents a picture which does not differ so materially from the river steamboat of to-day. The boats were clumsier, of course, and progress has caused some essential changes, but in general, there is after all not so radical a difference as one might suppose. The fuel used is no longer wood but coal, there are few deck passengers and the river steamboats as a general thing are not patronized by "fashionables." The meals then, were abundant and well cooked and evidently considered good, at that time. The social life on board with the dominant key-note democracy, has become restricted with time

and the professional gambler aboard has disappeared. Time was slower and there were more accidents formerly—the beginnings of any new invention are a long series of mishaps and fatal consequences—and to-day there is probably no safer mode of travel, but even from the first, there was a general trend towards the same general plan of arrangements; boilers and machinery with high pressure engines on the main deck, with all available space used for freight, staircase at the bow, ascending to the second deck, with a cabin used as a dining room, and berths on either side, the stern end partitioned off for the ladies' cabin, space down the sides called the guards and deck across the front; the upper deck, for promenade and sight-seeing, sometimes with cabin and berths, depending on the size of the vessel, occasionally used for deck passengers in the old days, now utilized for the crew. The manners and customs of the trade are still the same; pride never permits one steamer to pass another, going in the same direction, if the captain of the steamer in the lead can help it; in consequence, races are the rule and in passing the crews call to one another, with derisive shouts and triumphant cheers. The "Good Samaritan" spirit still exists, one boat invariably helping either friend or enemy in distress. Any one who has ever traveled on the modern steamboat on the western rivers, knows that delays at starting are none too infrequent and various evasive answers as to the cause, are the only replies that the inquirer may receive from the captain or any of the crew.

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THAT OLD LOG HOUSE WHERE USED TO BE OUR FARM.

BY D. TOD GILLIAM, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

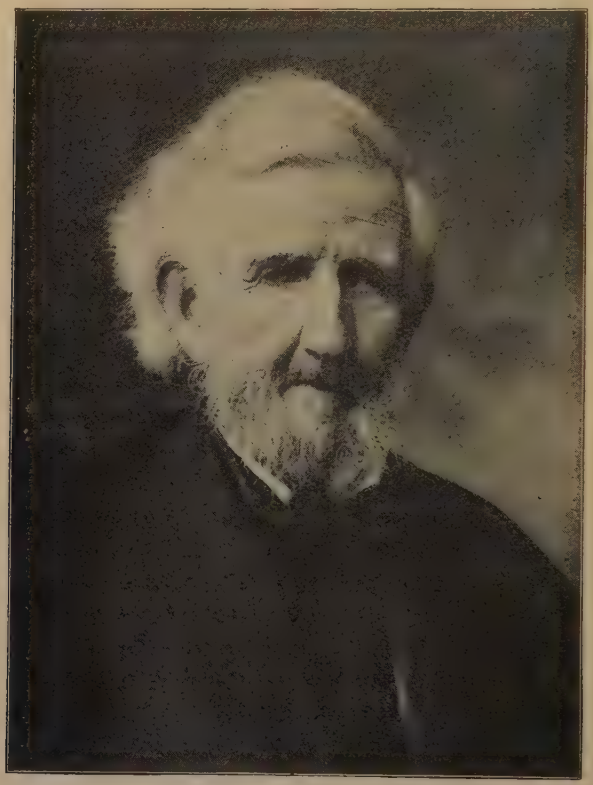
They ain't no houses anywhere what makes a feelin' so warm,
As that old house, up 'mong the trees, where used to be our farm.
That house wer' built of logs, an' chinked an' daubed all 'roun',
Inside them logs wer' one big room, what kivered lots o' groun'.
The clapboard roof, held down by poles, as ev'rybody knowed,
Wer' proof agin the rain an' snow, 'cept when it rained or snowed.
The doors was paw'ful hefty, an' hung on hick'ry wood,
An' opened with a latch-string; special them what front-ways stood.
The winders wern't so many, nor wern't so awful bright,
They stood 'longside them front-way doors an' guv but little light.
The floors was made of puncheon, the hearth wer' made of clay,

The chimbly wer' a whopper, an' leaned most ev'ry way.
The fire-place wer' a whopper, an' took a six-foot log,
An' the way that fire clum up that flue wer' pleasin' to the dog;
Likewise to us, what set aroun' an' talked an' drunk an' eat,
I tell you, them was good, old times, an' mighty hard to beat.
In the darkes', furthes' corner wer' pap's an' mam's old bed,
With ticks of straw an' feathers, stacked higher'an your head.
Them days, they hadn't mattresses, nor sich new-fangled things,
But jist them ticks an' bedcords, what was better'n any springs.
Behin' the flow'ry valances, the trundle-bed by day
Wer' hid, an' trundled out at night, to stow the kids away.
Us bigger ones, slep' in the lof', an' when the rain would pour,
It soothed us with its patter, an' drippin' on the floor.
An' when it snowed in winter, an' sifted through the cracks,
It powdered floor an' kivers, till they was white as wax.
Then in the mornin' early, when the cocks begun to crow,
We'd pelt each other lively, with the siftin's of the snow.
Purty soon, we'd hear the cracklin' of the fire down below,
An' we'd jump into our clo'es, an' down the ladder go.
An' we'd see the old, dutch oven, glowin' red with livin' coals,
An' we'd git a whiff of corn pome, an' coffee in the bowls,
An' we'd smell the sausage fryin' an' 'twer more'n we could stan',
An' we'd rush into the open, to wash our face an' han's,
An' we'd crowd aroun' the table, an' we'd pitch into that pome,
An' we'd gulp that steamin' coffee, an' send that sausage home.
It wer' sure enough inspirin' to see the way we eat,
I'm doubtin' where you'll find 'em, what kin duplicate that feat.
But them is carnal pleasures, as the preacher do allow,
An' 'monished higher pleasures, as what I tells you now:
Sometimes we'd peel the apples, sometimes we'd shell the corn,
An' after all wer' over, we'd dance an' dance till morn.
It wern't no dreamy glidin', like the dancin' of to-day,
But a real, rip-snortin' hoe-down, what fiddlers likes to play.
I'm thinkin' how its certain, they's no sich times no more,
That old, log house makes feelin's, what I never had afore.

WILLIAM H. WEST.

BY WILLIAM Z. DAVIS.

[The following is an address in memory of Judge William H. West, delivered by Hon. William Z. Davis, of the Ohio Supreme Court, at the meeting of the Ohio Bar Association, Cedar Point, July 12, 1911.]



WILLIAM H. WEST.

This writing is not a biography but an appreciation of one of the most notable members of the Ohio Bar in his generation. As a counsellor, as a trial lawyer and advocate, in the halls of

legislation, as attorney general, as judge of the supreme court, when constructing a constitution for the state, on the political platform, everywhere and in whatever capacity he was tried he was a large figure.

William H. West was born at Millsborough, Washington county, Pennsylvania, February 9, 1824, and closed his earthly career at Bellefontaine, Ohio, on March 14, 1911. Although he apparently never possessed a rugged and muscular body, his was always, almost from the beginning, a strenuous life. He was born with a dominance of intellect and an intensity in its action, which, like electricity, burned and scintillated and flashed in face and form as no merely animal force could have done. This, I take it, was the key to his character and to his remarkable success in varied forms, under adverse circumstances and throughout an unusually long life. Very early he learned the lessons of self-help and in the struggles and privations of the second stage of pioneer life in eastern Ohio, he laid the foundations of his subsequent ripe scholarship in the country schools of that day. He was thus prepared for the wider outlook of Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, from which he graduated in 1846.

Like many other men who have struggled upward through narrow circumstances he devoted himself temporarily to teaching and waited for his opportunity. He was a teacher in an academy in Kentucky for a couple of years, during which time, as I learned from his own lips, he became acquainted with James G. Blaine, who was born near his own birthplace, but whom he had never met until that time. This was the beginning of a life-long friendship between these distinguished men. Later he spent some time as a tutor in the college from which he had graduated and yet later as a professor at Hampden-Sidney College, at Prince Edward, Virginia. This was the preparatory period of his eventful life.

John E. West, Esq., Judge West's son, relates that Judge William Lawrence was a distant relative of Judge West and that while on a horseback journey through Licking county he visited West and persuaded him to go to Bellefontaine as a place which offered good opportunities for young men. West therefore settled in Bellefontaine, about 1850, and became student of

law in the office of Judge Lawrence, and in due time he became a partner of his preceptor. The decade from 1850 to 1860 was full of exciting debate and stirring events, presaging the dire conflict of 1861 to 1865. At thirty years of age he was an ardent leader in the formation of the Republican Party and was an active participant in the stormy debates which preceded the great Civil War. He served with distinguished ability in both houses of the Ohio General Assembly and was a delegate to the convention at Chicago which nominated Abraham Lincoln for the presidency. It was in 1863, during the historic political campaign in which John Brough and Clement L. Vallandingham contested for the governorship of this intensely loyal state, and Judge West was a candidate for the state senate, that the writer of this memorial then an invalid soldier just home from the campaign around Vicksburgh, became acquainted with him and became deeply impressed with his pure and conscientious patriotism, his high ideals and his unusual ability as a popular orator. Of all the political orators in Ohio of his time, and I have heard all of them of any distinction from Corwin down to the present time, no one, in my judgment was superior to him. General William H. Gibson had more of that wonderful, indefinable quality which we call magnetism; but West's most eloquent efforts were so underlaid and knit together with inexorable logic that they were not easily forgotten and made the more lasting impression. It was a liberal education to hear him in those days when all that was best in the orator was enlisted in his cause.

At the close of the war he was elected attorney general of Ohio, an office which up to that time had usually been filled by lawyers of commanding ability, and his two terms of service in that capacity laid a substantial foundation for his high reputation as a lawyer; so that when he came later to the bench of the Supreme Court of Ohio there were great expectations in regard to his usefulness in that position, expectations which were not disappointed in the two years of his service as a judge. For many years before and as long before as this writer became acquainted with him he had been afflicted with defective vision. He once said to me that he could only see objects directly in

front of him and that oculists told him that the lateral nerves of his eyes were paralyzed. He compared his vision to looking through a pinhole in a piece of cardboard. With this handicap much of the best work of his life had been accomplished. The arduous work of the Supreme Court in scanning records and briefs, which at that time were not printed, as well as the additional perusal of authorities, completed the destruction of his eyesight and he was compelled to resign his high office. With many men here would have been the close of a career; but he courageously took up the arduous tasks of the trial lawyer as well as the equally responsible and difficult duties of a consulting counsel. Not a few members of this Association personally know how formidable an opponent he was at this period of his life. To the casual observer there was no appearance of defective vision. At least some of you remember the keen, alert, penetrating and inquiring expression of the eyes with which he would look upon you; and yet it was all in darkness to him. Doubtless you remember the familiar attitude in the courtroom as he sat with head bowed upon his hands clasped upon his cane in front of him, and with cloak thrown over his shoulders until something suddenly called for action, when a smile would light up his pale features, a crisp sarcasm would flash like a rapier in sunlight and the battle would be on. How often we have seen him sitting before a jury or on the stump, pouring forth streams of passionate oratory and how few of his charmed listeners have realized that he assumed this position through no disrespect to his audience but to avoid getting his back to those before him in the enthusiasm of his delivery.

Yet, notwithstanding physical weakness and oftentimes pain and with total lack of vision it was with surprise and marvel that observers noted the accuracy of his memory, the thoroughness of his preparation and the effectiveness with which he brought all the resources of past experience and present investigation to bear on the case in hand.*

* During this period of his life he was a delegate to the convention to revise and amend the Constitution of Ohio, which met in May, 1873, and adjourned in May, 1874. He was one of the most prominent of the many distinguished men in that convention.

It was in the high tide of his career after he had left the bench, that he was nominated by the Republican Party as its candidate for governor. It was August 1, 1877, only a short time after the bitter and exciting presidential contest between Hayes and Tilden, and it was at Cleveland, at the very time that the most colossal and threatening railroad strike ever known was in progress. The public mind was in a state of unrest and excitement. The party was agitated by factional struggles and grave differences upon subjects which have passed into history, like the resumption of specie payments and the demonetization of silver, and upon grave questions which are still with us, such as the relations of capital and labor and the growth of corporate power. A number of able men were being considered as the choice of the Republican Party to carry its standard to victory or defeat, and among them was Judge Alphonso Taft, who was subsequently defeated for the nomination at Cincinnati by Hon. Charles Foster. It was a convention conspicuous for the presence of able and distinguished men. General Garfield was the permanent chairman and on taking the chair delivered a speech of characteristic eloquence and statesmanlike suggestion. Under such circumstances Judge West was nominated. He was brought into the convention and made a short speech which was well received and made a good impression. The convention adjourned late in the afternoon. It had been arranged to have a ratification in the public square. A mass meeting of the strikers and their sympathizers was held in the same place and many of these still lingered about when the crowd assembled for the Republican ratification meeting. Hon. Stanley Matthews, afterwards a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, then a United States senator from Ohio, was the first speaker and it was not long until he was in the midst of a running fire of interruptions in which the presence of a number of the turbulent spirits of the strikers meeting was indicated and which continued throughout his speech. While this was going on, Judge West was led upon the platform and took his seat. Meantime the character of the audience had gradually changed and a great majority of those present were of the substantial business people of Cleveland and Republicans from all over the state who were there

to attend the convention. When Judge West was introduced he made the following speech, which I take verbatim from a report of it in *The Cleveland Leader* of the next morning, August 2nd:

"My Fellow Citizens:

I have not come to address you at any length. I have been requested, stranger as I am in your midst, to appear on the stand that you and I might become the better acquainted. It has pleased the Republican Convention of Ohio, today, to place my name in nomination for the highest office in the gift of the people of your state. (Applause.) It shall be my pleasure, my pride and my duty so to deport myself toward you, and toward your interests and toward the common interests of the common country, as to merit and deserve your confidence and support. (Applause.) I probably should tell you who I am and whence I came. I am no railroad officer, and never was, (a voice: "Glad to hear it,") and never will be. (A voice: "Bravo.")

I hold no railroad bonds or railroad stocks, that my interests be different from those of any other man, and never did. (A voice: "Bravo.") I hold no untaxed Government bonds, and I never did, and never expect to. (Laughter.) I hold no bank stock and never did, and never expect to, (Applause) and, financially, I suspect I am about as impartial between capital and labor as one without finances possibly can be. (Applause, and a voice: "Will you uphold it?") I will uphold all that I believe to be right and just between man, and discountenance all that I believe in my conscience is wrong. (Applause.) It has been a habit of my life, the education of my life, to be in sympathy more with the industry of my country than with the capital of my country. (A voice: "Bravo.") I chance to be the son of as humble a mechanic as any that stands now before me. I chanced in my early life to receive my early education at the forge, blowing the bellows and wielding the sledge. (Applause.)

And now, my fellow citizens, I have no war to wage upon any class, upon any race, upon any sect, upon any grade or upon any color, save and except in so far as they do wrong in violation to the laws of God and the laws of man. (Applause.)

I promised, however, to occupy but a moment of time, and I shall keep my word, but I desire to say, my fellow citizens, to you a word only upon a subject which I know is uppermost in the minds and in the hearts of most of you. It is that the industry of our country shall be so regarded as that labor shall at least receive that compensation which shall be the support and sustenance of the laborer. (Applause.) I do not know how it may certainly be brought about. I know the difficulties; I know the embarrassments; I know how insurmountable are the obstructions in the way of any equal or proper adjustment of

the relations between those who labor and those who furnish the means and opportunities to labor. But if I had the power I would try one experiment at least. I would prohibit the great railroad corporations, the great thoroughfares of business and trade from so reducing their rates by ruinous competition as to disable themselves from paying a just compensation to their operators. (Cries of good, and applause.)

I would go further and try the experiment — but I do not know that it would succeed — I would arrange and fix a minimum of prices for all who labor in the mines and upon the railroads, and then require that all the net receipts and proceeds of the capital invested, the laborer at the end of the year should, in addition to his fixed compensation receive a certain per cent. of the profits. (Applause and cries of "That is the man.")

Then, if the profits were insufficient to compensate you as liberally as you could otherwise desire, bear with your employers a portion of the loss. (A voice: "Certainly.") But if their receipts be sufficient to make a division, we would, in God's name, let the laborer, who is worthy of his hire, share a portion of the profits. (Applause.)

And now, my fellow citizens, having fulfilled the promise, I shall desist further, with this statement, that I will endeavor to meet you again on some future occasion, when I shall have more time and opportunity to talk with you as friend to friend, for I am sure as you and I become better acquainted we will not be very wide in our opinions of right and wrong. (Applause.)

A good deal of dissent from the substance of this address was immediately manifest and it cannot be denied that some of its phrasing was unfortunate under the circumstances. I speak from personal recollection as well as from the record, for I was present and a witness of all these things; but I cannot undertake to determine how much that speech contributed to Judge West's defeat. That it did do so to some extent is undeniable and at that time there were not a few who believed it to be a large factor in the Republican disaster which followed. Viewed alongside of some of the utterances in these days of those who call themselves progressives and whom others call insurrectionists or insurgents, it would seem to be quite moderate and would hardly seem to justify the agitation which resulted. I know of two rather well-known politicians from different parts of the state, who undertook the impossible task of suppressing that speech from appearing in the newspapers. Of course the effort failed. Garfield, Cox, Monroe and several other prominent men made speeches and the ratification meeting

closed and the incidents of the convention of 1877 passed into history.

I was present at another of the memorable events of Judge West's career: his presentation of his friend James G. Blaine to the Republican National Convention at Chicago, in 1884, for nomination for president of the United States. The occasion lacked some of the dramatic features and inspiration which aided Ingersoll in his famous effort at Cincinnati, in 1876, which I also heard, but West's effort was probably the more effective vote-getter. At any rate, his candidate won at the convention only to lose on the home stretch at the election. It must have been a great disappointment to Judge West, for it is understood that if Blaine had been elected West was to have been a member of the Cabinet as Attorney General.

The following is the Chicago convention speech, slightly abridged:

"Gentlemen of the Convention:

"As a delegate in the Chicago convention of 1860, the proudest service of my life was performed by voting for the nomination of that inspired emancipator, the first Republican President of the United States. Four and twenty years of the grandest history in the annals of recorded time have distinguished the ascendency of the Republican party. Skies have lowered, and reverses have threatened. Our flag is still there, waving above the mansion of the Presidency; not a stain on its folds, not a cloud on its glory. Whether it shall maintain that grand ascendency depends on the action of this great council. With bated breath a Nation awaits the result. On it are fixed the eyes of twenty millions of Republican freemen in the North. To it are stretched the imploring hands of ten million of political bondmen of the South; while above, from the portals of light, is looking down the spirit of the immortal martyr who first bore it to victory, bidding us hail and God-speed.

"In six campaigns has that symbol of union, of freedom, of humanity, and of progress, been borne in triumph — sometimes by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms, Ulysses the Great; last by that soldier statesman at whose untimely taking off a Nation swelled the funeral cry and wept above great Garfield's grave. Shall that banner triumph again? Commit it to the bearing of that great chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men, stir the blood of our manhood, and rekindle the fervor of the veteran; and the closing of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise.

"Political conditions are changed since the accession of the Republican party to power. The mighty issues of struggling freedom and bleeding humanity, which convulsed the continent and rocked the Republic, rallied, united and inspired the forces of patriotism and philanthropy in one consolidated phalanx. These great issues have ceased their contention; the subordinate issues resulting therefrom are settled and buried away with the dead issues of the past.

"The odds of the solid south are against us. Not an electoral gun can be expected from that section. If triumph come, the Republican States of the North must furnish the conquering battalions from the farm, the anvil, the loom; from the mine, the workshop, and the desk; from the hut of the trapper on snowy Sierra, from the hut of the fisherman on the banks of the Hudson, must these forces be drawn. Does not sound political wisdom dictate and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funeral marches to certain defeat, but a grand, civic hero, whom they will follow with all the enthusiasm of volunteers, as they sweep on and onward to certain victory?

"In this contention of forces for political dominion, to whom as candidate shall we intrust the bearing of our battle-flag? Citizens, I am not here to — and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I do — abate the tithe of a hair from the just fame, integrity and public honor of Chester A. Arthur, our President. I abate not one tithe from the just fame and public integrity of George F. Edmunds, of Joseph R. Hawley, of John Sherman, of that grand old Black Eagle of Illinois. And I am proud to know that these distinguished Senators whom I have named have borne like testimony to the public life, the public character, and the public integrity of him whose confirmation, by their votes, elevated him to the highest office, second in dignity to the office of the President himself — the first premiership in the administration of James A. Garfield. A man who was good enough for these great Senatorial rivals to confirm in the high office of first Premier of the Republic, is good enough for the support of a plain, flesh-and-blood God's people for President.

"Who shall be our candidate? Not the representative of a particular interest or a particular class. Send a great apostle to the country labeled 'the doctors' candidate,' 'the lawyers' candidate,' 'the Wall street candidate,' and the hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave. Gentlemen, he must be a representative of American manhood — a representative of that living Republicanism that demands the amplest industrial protection and opportunity whereby labor shall be enabled to earn and eat the bread of independent employment, relieved from mendicant competition with pauper Europe or pagan Chinese. He must be a representative of that Republicanism that demands the absolute political as well as personal emancipation and dis-

enthrallment of mankind; a representative of that Republicanism which recognizes the stamp of American citizenship as the passport to every right, privilege, dignity and consideration at home or abroad, whether under the sky of Bismarck, under the palmetto, under the pelican, or on the banks of the Mohawk — that Republicanism that cannot regard with indifference a despotism which, under the flaunting lie of *Sic semper tyrannis,* annihilates, by slaughter, popular majorities in the name of democracy — a Republicanism which, while avoiding entangling alliances with foreign powers, will accept insult and humiliation from no prince, State, potentate or sovereignty on earth — as embodied and stated in the platform of principles this day adopted in your convention. Gentlemen, such a representative Republican, enthroned in the hearts and affections of the people, is James G. Blaine, of Maine.

"* * * Gentlemen, three millions of Republicans believe that the man to accomplish this, is the Ajax Telamon of our party, who made, and whose life is, a conspicuous part of its glorious history. Through all the conflicts of its progress, from the baptism of blood on the plains of Kansas to the fall of the immortal Garfield, whenever humanity needed succor, or freedom needed protection, or country a champion, wherever blows fell thickest and fastest, there, in the forefront of the battle, was seen to wave the white plume of James G. Blaine, our Henry of Navarre. Nominate him, and the shouts of the September victory in Maine will be re-echoed back by the thunders of the October victory in Ohio. Nominate him, and the camp-fires and beacon-lights will illuminate the continent from the Golden Gate to Cleopatra's Needle. Nominate him, and the millions who are now in waiting will rally to swell the column of victory that is sweeping on. In the name of a majority of the delegates from the Republican States, and their glorious constituencies who must fight this battle, I nominate James G. Blaine, of Maine."

By this time, another generation of Ohio's remarkable men were well advanced on the stage, McKinley, Foraker, Mark Hanna, Charles Foster, and others, and henceforward he figured less in the public eye than heretofore. Age and infirmity were slowly creeping upon him. Ten years more of the monotonous work-a-day life of law practice brought him to the day when he went out at eighty years of age from his law office never to return but once, although he lived for seven years thereafter.

I will no doubt be pardoned for adding here an incident which clearly shows the rank which he occupies in the estimate of men qualified to judge of his real merits. A short time ago, I

had occasion to suggest to an eminent statesman and constitutional lawyer that he permit himself to be selected as a delegate to the constitutional convention soon to be held in this state. I quote but a single sentence from his reply: "As to the constitutional convention, it has occurred to me that if Morrison R. Waite, and Rufus King, and Governor Hoadly and William H. West, and their colleagues of the last constitutional convention, embracing some of the ablest men our state has ever produced, could not make a constitution acceptable to the people of Ohio, it is hardly worth while for anybody else to try." That speaks louder for the reputation which he has left behind him than pages of eulogy.

Aloof from the world, in the shelter of his own home, surrounded by loved ones, venerable, infirm and sightless, his indomitable spirit struggled with hard problems of law and public economy, of literature and science, almost to the very end of life. He told me on the day of his last public appearance that he feared that if he did not keep up the vigorous exercise of his mind he might lapse into senile imbecility. Whatever there may have been in this theory of his, he certainly presented a remarkable example of clear thinking and vigorous expression almost to the time of his exit. His stately courtesy and evident delight in meeting the distinguished men who called upon him on that day in 1905 when the Republican campaign opening was held in Bellefontaine, was a pleasure to behold. He occupied a seat on the platform with Governor Herrick, Vice President Fairbanks and Senator Foraker, and made, I believe, the last speech of his life, still recommending to the people the platform and candidates of the Republican Party which he had helped to organize.

So he lived and so he retired from public view. He had outlived all the competitors of his early career at the bar; but while he lingered for a few years he showed the faith of a really great man in God and the Bible. In him was no fetish or superstition, but a firm conviction based on reason and spiritual insight. At the last he sat for hours listening to the reading of some favorite author, and then lay down to sleep the long sleep that knows no waking until the Resurrection Morn.

THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE IN BALLAD AND HISTORY.

BY CHARLES B. GALBREATH.

Perry's victory on Lake Erie stands out pre-eminent among the naval exploits of the War of 1812. And this is true, not only by virtue of the comparative importance of the battle and its results, but because it combined in an unusual degree the elements of intrepidity, patriotic fervor and personal valor that captivate the imagination, live in legend and story and song, and make up what we are pleased to style the poetry of war. In spite of Cooper's criticism of the young commander, and the contention of Roosevelt that the battle was not a remarkable achievement—that greater things had been accomplished by McDonough on Lake Champlain, the commanding figure of Perry, as he passes from the shattered *Lawrence* to the *Niagara* in a frail boat through a storm of bullets and grape-shot, stands forth undimmed and undiminished in its original luster and heroic proportions. The premonitory silence of the approaching fleets; the daring advance of the commander's ship; the roar of cannon and the fierce onslaught of the encircling line of the enemy; the shattered hull, the splintered masts and the reeking deck of the *Lawrence,* where valor strove desperately to keep aloft the stars and stripes and the banner inscribed, "Don't give up the ship;" the reckless bravery of Perry as he bore the latter from his flag-ship and raised it over the *Niagara;* the striking of the colors of the *Lawrence*; the fierce renewal of the combat; victory snatched from the jaws of defeat; the thunders of floating armaments forever silenced on our northern "inland seas!" In the short space of a few hours we have here, on the romantic waters of the West, in action and fortune, an event dramatic and kaleidoscopic, that lives in ballad and history, and sheds luster on the "men behind the guns," the young commander, and the young republic.

The battle of Lake Erie is doubtless destined to more

Perry Leaving the Lawrence for the Niagara.
From painting by Powell in rotunda of State Capitol, Columbus, Ohio.

enduring fame because, while it stirs the blood of those who defend and glorify war, it appeals with peculiar force to the advocate of perpetual peace. Especially is this true at this time when the god of battles "has smoothed his wrinkled front," and the world seems about to awake to the criminal folly of submitting questions of state to the arbitrament of arms.

The terms of peace that followed the battle provided that our northern border should not be guarded on either side by forts or fleets. The parties to the compact have found in mutual respect and good will an ample defense, while the peace advocates point to it as a practical demonstration of the virtue of their cause and its triumphant progress in the vision of the poet,

"Till the war-drum throbbed no longer and the battle-flags were furled."

But whatever the significance of the battle to present or future generations, it may not be without interest in these reminiscent days approaching its centennial anniversary to know that for many years following the war of which it was a part, this event was known along the borders of the lake, not alone through the valiant deeds of Perry and the far-reaching results of his achievement, but even more widely through the tragic fate of one who fought beside him under the splintered masts on the slippery deck of the *Lawrence*.

Judged by modern standards, our ancestors of seventy-five years ago enjoyed only primitive advantages. Educational facilities were meager, and the history of their own and other lands, in many communities, was largely a matter of legend and story. Exploits of personal daring and courageous sacrifice to an untimely and relentless fate, related through the medium of rhyme and song, appealed to their sympathetic nature and their untutored poetic fancy. Many of them knew of the Battle of Lake Erie only through the ballad of "James Bird." Corn huskings, apple cuttings, log-rollings, and even quilting bees of the long ago not infrequently closed with the rendition of the quaint, pathetic old song, written by a bard unlearned and unknown, but not without the gift to tell his story well.

The name of the old ballad recalls one who, when the winter nights were long, used to sing it at meetings of his neighbors, but more frequently in his home amid the gathering twilight of early summer days. When requested, he prefaced the song with the following story:

James Bird, like many a young man, wished to enlist in the army. Our country was at war with the British, and Bird was persuaded to enter the service of the navy. He enlisted. A short time before the fleet set sail to engage the enemy he was given a furlough of a few days to visit his home and friends. He lingered with the young woman whom he was soon to marry, and then hurried back to join his ship, the brig *Niagara.* But when he reached the port the vessel had sailed. In great distress, he sought to rejoin the fleet, and finally succeeded in boarding the *Lawrence,* the vessel commanded in person by Captain Perry. In the great battle he distinguished himself for bravery. He fought side by side with Perry, was severely wounded, but continued to fight valiantly until the British were defeated and captured.

Later Bird was tried by court martial for deserting, condemned and ordered on a certain day to be executed. In those times they shot deserters. They were compelled to kneel on their coffins and were shot by a squad of their fellow soldiers. At the time of the battle Perry knew nothing of the desertion of Bird. When he heard of the court martial, he sent a messenger on horseback with a reprieve, but he arrived too late.

After this introduction, he who related the story sang to an old church tune, in a clear, well modulated voice, this ballad of

JAMES BIRD.

Sons of Freedom, listen to me,
And ye daughters, too, give ear;
You a sad and mournful story
As was ever told shall hear.

Hull, you know, his troops surrendered,
And defenceless left the West;
Then our forces quick assembled
The invaders to resist.

Among the troops that marched to Erie
Were the Kingston volunteers;
Captain Thomas then commanded,
To protect our west frontier.

Tender were the words of parting,
Mothers wrung their hands and cried;
Maidens wept their love in secret,
Fathers strove their tears to hide.

But there's one among the number,
Tall and graceful in his mien;
Firm his step, his look undaunted,
Scarce a nobler youth was seen.

One sweet kiss he stole from Mary,
Craved his mother's prayers once more,
Pressed his father's hand and left them,
For Lake Erie's distant shore.

Mary tried to say "Farewell, James!"
Waved her hand but nothing spoke;
"Good-bye, Bird, may Heaven protect you,"
From the rest at parting broke.

Where is Bird? — the battle rages;
Is he in the strife, or no?
Now the cannons roar tremendous,
Dare he meet the hostile foe?

Aye, — behold him! there with Perry,
On the self-same ship they fight;
Though his messmates fall around him,
Nothing can his soul affright.

But, behold a ball has struck him!
See the crimson current flow.
"Leave the deck!" exclaimed brave Perry;
"No," cried Bird, "I will not go."

Here on the deck he took his station;
Ne'er will Bird his colors fly;
"I'll stand by you, gallant captain,
Till we conquer or we die."

Still he fought though faint and bleeding,
Till our stars and stripes arose,
Victory having crowned our efforts,
All triumphant o'er our foes.

And did Bird receive a pension?
Was he to his friends restored?
No, nor ever to his bosom
Clasped the maid his heart adored.

But there came most dismal tidings
From Lake Erie's distant shore;
Better if poor Bird had perished
Midst the cannons' awful roar.

"Dearest Parents," said the letter,
"This will bring sad news to you;
Do not mourn your first beloved,
Though it brings his last adieu.

"I must suffer for deserting
From the brig Ni-ag-a-ra;
Read this letter, brothers, sisters,—
'Tis the last you'll have from me!"

Sad and gloomy was the morning,
Bird was ordered out to die.
Where's the breast not dead to pity,
But for him would heave a sigh?

Lo! he fought so brave at Erie,
Freely bled and nobly dared,
Let his courage plead for mercy,
Let his precious life be spared.

See him march and hear his fetters,
Harsh they clank upon his ear;
But his step is firm and manly,
For his heart ne'er harbored fear.

See! he kneels upon his coffin,
Sure, his death can do no good;
Spare him! Hark!—Oh God, they've shot him,
Oh, his bosom streams with blood.

Farewell, Bird! farewell, forever!
Friends and home he'll see no more;
But his mangled corse lies buried
On Lake Erie's distant shore.

When this was sung in the home, a woman's voice usually blended in the lay. Those who hear with impatience three or four stanzas of a song in these days, can scarcely believe with what tense interest this old ballad was heard to the last word. Tears often came into the eyes of the young listeners and one of the singers, with the plea,

"Lo! he fought so brave at Erie,
Freely bled and nobly dared,
Let his courage plead for mercy
Let his precious life be spared."

At the close of the lines describing the tragic fate of Bird there was an impressive pause, and then in subdued, but clear and simple notes floated out on the evening air:

"Farewell, Bird, farewell, forever!
Friends and home he'll see no more,
But his mangled corse lies buried
On Lake Erie's distant shore."

The silence that followed was broken by the roundelay of the frog from the little stream that flowed in front of the old country home, and the solemn song of the whip-poor-will in the dense forest just beyond.

Ten years ago he who had sung the old song so often, was a little disappointed to read a paragraph in a paper to the effect that James Bird was a myth and the old ballad was fiction with no basis in reality.

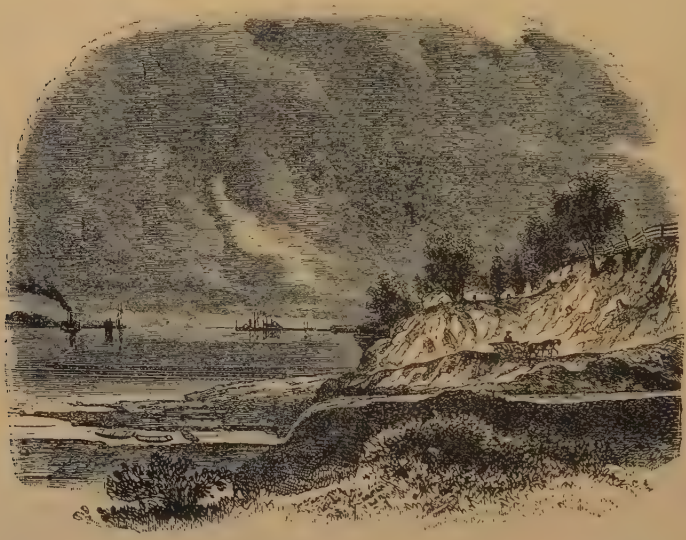
A little research, however, reveals the name of Bird among the wounded who fought with Perry on the *Lawrence,* and authentic history tells a sadder story than that portrayed in the ballad of the battle.

James Bird stands forth in his weakness as well as his strength. With all his faults, this wayward youth had still some claim to the sympathy of his countrymen, and was not al-

together unworthy of the tears that have been shed for his tragic fate.

The following is the true story of this ill-starred young soldier, presented in paraphrase from authentic sources:

Sergeant James Bird went to Erie with a brigade of volunteers from Pennsylvania and was detailed with a squad of men to guard stores in a small blockhouse, near the mouth of Cascade Creek, where Perry was building the larger vessels of his fleet. Some of the stores were carried away, and an investiga-



Mouth of Cascade Creek, Where Perry's Fleet Was Built.

tion showed that it was done with the knowledge and assent of Bird. He and his men resisted arrest, but were soon subdued. Lieutenant John Brooks, knowing Bird to be a man of courage, wished him to join the marines. It was very difficult to find men for the naval service; Bird and his men were told that their offenses would be overlooked if they would enlist. This they did, and Bird served gallantly through the battle on the *Lawrence* and was severely wounded. Afterward when the squadron was preparing for the Mackinaw expedition, Bird was again detailed

to guard government stores. His wayward nature reasserted itself, and with John Rankin, one of the guard, he deserted. A little later, Charles M. Reed, a young student, on his way to school at Washington, Pennsylvania, stopped at a tavern in Butler and there saw and recognized the deserters. Resuming his journey, young Reed soon met sailing-master Colwell, whom he knew, and reported them. They were promptly placed under arrest and taken back to Erie. While the squadron was sailing to Detroit, they, with a sailor by the name of John Davis, who had committed a similar offense, were tried by court martial on board the *Niagara* and condemned to death. Efforts were made to have Bird's sentence commuted to imprisonment, because of his gallantry in the battle of Lake Erie, but without success. The President refused to extend clemency to Bird on the ground that, "having deserted from his post while in charge of a guard, in time of war, he must therefore suffer as an example to others." All three were executed on board the *Niagara* in the roadstead at Erie in October, 1814, and were buried in the "sand beach."

While these facts differ materially from the introductory legend, they are not at essential variance with the words of the ballad. Who wrote it is not known As a local historian observes, the author was apparently familiar with the true story and Bird's home, and he adds: "That there was wide sympathy felt for Bird, chiefly because of his service on the fleet, there can be no doubt. The tenacity with which the popularity of the ballad endured is proof of this. It is now rare; rare enough to excuse its appearance as part of the history of the region in which it was so long a popular feature of nearly every entertainment or public gathering."

But Bird has a place in the archives of his country. His name is found in the list of "severely wounded" at the battle of Lake Erie on Perry's flagship, the *Lawrence*: it also appears in the list of those who shared the "prize money" that fell to the victors. As a private, he was entitled to $214.89, and there is an element of pathos in the note set opposite his name to the effect that this was drawn by "attorney of his father," about three months after the execution.

From the ballad of James Bird, with its basis of tragic reality, we turn to a brief consideration of the battle of Lake Erie as it is preserved in familiar and authentic history.

The surrender of General Hull at Detroit inaugurated a struggle for the possession of the upper lakes, especially Lake Erie. The British and the Americans promptly began the construction of war vessels, and their small flotillas of boats gradually grew into the two fleets that were to decide which power was to be supreme in the northwest. The British shipyard at Malden, opposite Detroit, rang with the sounds of preparation, and raised the hopes of the industrious red-coats commanded by Proctor and the picturesque savages under the great Tecumseh. Far to the east, on the opposite shore of the same lake, in the protected harbor of the little town of Erie, the Americans, under the zealous and enterprising young officer, Oliver Hazard Perry, were even surpassing the enemy in the race of building fleets. The shipyards of our time make those of 1813 seem pigmy affairs, and the "oak leviathans" of that day were frail structures compared with modern iron monsters of the deep. But the soldiers and sailors of the War of 1812 were not unlike their fellows of other times, for the martial and patriotic spirit is much the same in all generations.

At the little port of Erie, were only the materials that nature afforded out of which to create a fleet—the unhewn timber of the primeval forest. Ship-builders, sailors, naval stores, guns and ammunition were to be transported over bad roads from distant points. After months of labor at the mouth of Cascade Creek, the last of the vessels were launched and Perry found himself, July 10th, in command of the following vessels and armament: The brig *Lawrence*, twenty guns; brig *Niagara*, twenty guns; brig *Caledonia*, three guns; schooner *Ariel*, four guns; schooner *Scorpion*, two guns and two swivels; sloop *Trippe*, one gun; schooner *Tigress*, one gun; schooner *Porcupine*, one gun, and schooner *Somers*, one gun. The first of the list was the commander's flag-ship.

Much difficulty was experienced in enlisting marines to man these vessels, and the consequent delay was irritating to the eager commander. "Think of my station," he wrote, "the en-

emy in sight, the vessels under my command more than sufficient and ready to make sail, and yet obliged to bite my fingers with vexation for want of men."

The arrival of Captain Jesse Duncan Elliott, second in command, with one hundred men early in August enabled the little fleet to venture with assurance on the open waters of the lake. It reached Sandusky August 17th, where General Harrison met Perry on board the *Lawrence* to arrange for the fall campaign. Perry then cruised leisurely about the lake on the

Perry's Battle Flag.

look-out for the enemy, while General Harrison was assembling his army to be transported across to Malden.

September 10, 1813, dawned peaceful and cloudless. Shortly after the mists had cleared away from the horizon, the sentinel in the maintop of the *Lawrence* called out "Sail ho!" and a little later in the distance off Put-in-Bay, was seen by those on deck the British fleet, steadily advancing under a gently rising breeze. Perry prepared at once for action. Amid cheers from the crew he hoisted from the masthead of the *Lawrence* a blue banner

with the words of Lawrence, the dying Captain of the *Chesapeake,* in large white letters, "Don't give up the ship." The line of battle was formed, Perry in his ship boldly leading the advance and outsailing the other vessels in his eagerness to open the fight.

At ten o'clock the wind shifted to the southeast. This gave Perry the advantage of the weather-gage, and wafted his vessels directly toward the enemy. The breeze, at no time high, sank at intervals to a dead calm. Two hours elapsed before a hostile sound floated over the shimmering waters. A dead quiet pervaded the vessels, broken at times only by the word of command, the shrill call of the boatswain's whistle "or a murmuring whisper among the men as they stood in groups around their guns, with lighted matches, eagerly watching the movements of the foe."

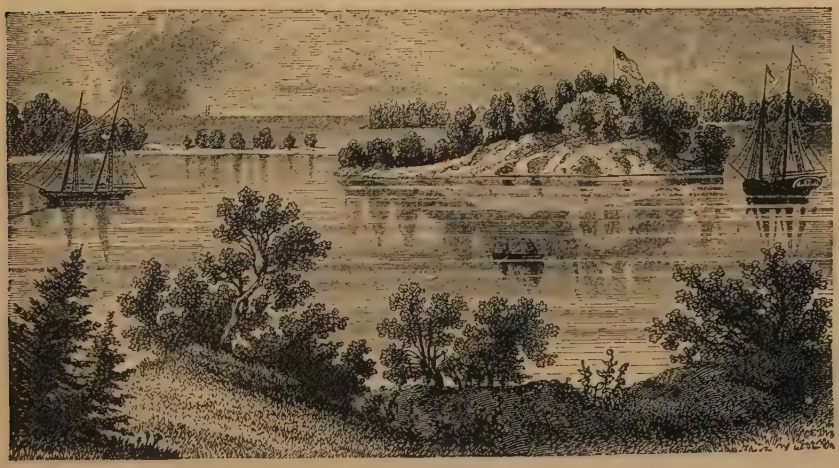
The British commander, Robert H. Barclay, who had fought and lost an arm under Nelson at Trafalgar, had drawn up in perfect alignment and faultless battle array the vessels of his squadron; the ship *Detroit,* nineteen guns, one pivot and two howitzers; ship *Queen Charlotte,* seventeen guns and one howitzer; brig *Lady Prevost,* thirteen guns and one howitzer; brig *Hunter,* ten guns; sloop *Little Belt,* three guns; schooner *Chippewa,* one gun and two swivels.

As the vessels approached, officers and men seemed to realize that this was to be no drawn battle, that a crisis was at hand. "This is the most important day of my life," said Perry to purser Hambleton, as his ship led proudly toward the enemy.

The sun had not yet reached the meridian in the peaceful September sky, with the foe a mile and a half distant, when the clear challenge of a bugle floated over the waters from the *Detroit,* followed by lusty cheers from the entire British fleet. A puff of smoke from the enemy's flag-ship, a roar, a splash of spray as the ball struck short of the *Lawrence*! A second shot from the same source went crashing through the ship, and before the remaining vessels could come to Perry's assistance, the long guns of the British were centered with deadly effect on his flag-ship. The shorter range of his guns made it for a time impossible for him to reply. His vessel had been struck many

times before he fired a shot. At closer range the battle raged furiously until the *Lawrence* lay on the waters a dismantled wreck, "her rigging shot away, her spars battered into splinters," and all of her guns but one dismounted. Her decks, slippery with blood, were strewn with the dead and dying. One mast remained aloft and from it floated the stars and stripes. Perry with the aid of the few men who were still able to assist, dragged forward the remaining gun and fired the last shot at the exulting foe.

In this desperate situation, he resolved to hurry to the



Put-in-Bay—Smoke of Battle in Distance.

Niagara and bring her into action. Descending into a small boat with four sturdy seamen, he was rowed swiftly through a storm of bullets and grape-shot on his dangerous way. The boat was struck, an oar was shattered, and the iron rain scattered spray over the oarsmen, but in the stern Perry stood upright, carrying the pennant and inscribed banner of his flag-ship, until he stood on the deck of the *Niagara* and the motto, "Don't give up the ship," floated again in the freshening breeze.

On the *Lawrence,* the fire of the enemy still wrought awful carnage, and before the despairing gaze of the wounded and

dying the colors went down in token of surrender. This was greeted with a wild shout from the British as they reached eagerly forward to grasp the laurels of victory. But the American cause was not lost. Captain Elliott left the *Niagara* to bring into action the smaller vessels, while Perry, assuming command, bore down swiftly on the enemy's battle line, and reserving his fire for close range, poured in destructive broadsides as he passed the *Detroit* and the *Queen Charlotte*, that had become entangled, while from his guns on the other side he raked the decks of the *Lady Prevost* and *Little Belt*. The other ships of his fleet, following the *Niagara*, completed the work of destruction. Defeat was changed to victory. The British ships struck their colors, as the flag of the young republic arose again on the single mast over the shattered deck of the *Lawrence*, and there, beneath its folds, was realized the later day sentiment of one of our poets:

"Each dying wanderer of the sea
Shall look at once to heaven and thee,
And smile to see thy splendors fly
In triumph o'er his closing eye."

As soon as the battle was over, Perry went to the cabin of the *Niagara* and wrote to General Harrison his famous dispatch, "We have met the enemy and they are ours, two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop."

The formal surrender occurred on the *Lawrence*. Commodore Barclay was so severely wounded that he could not be present in person to tender his sword. A subordinate officer was deputized to do this. Perry asked that the sword be returned and afterward visited the British commander on the *Detroit*. A lifelong friendship sprang up between the two men. In the battle the British lost forty-one killed and ninety-six wounded. The loss of the Americans, detailed elsewhere in the official report, was twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded. On the *Lawrence* of 101 reported fit for duty on the morning of the battle, the loss in killed and wounded was eighty-three.

An evening calm followed the battle. The sun declined and sank from his westward running "lane of fire" across the

waters; the full moon rose to relieve the darkness with her mellow and soothing light, and over the starry flags of the silent fleet, beamed the brighter stars in the arching canopy of night. On the decks of the vessels that had borne the heat of the fray, in low and solemn tones were read the burial rites, as the slain sailors, each in his hammock and winding sheet, with a cannon ball to make his final resting place secure, were consigned to the silent chambers of the deep.

The following day was devoted to repairing the vessels, clearing away the wreckage of the battle, caring for the wounded, and preparing for the obsequies of the dead officers. The forenoon of the twelfth was clear and beautiful. The waters of Put-in-Bay had "forgotten their undulations and the leaves hung motionless" in the somber woodland along the shore. In the peaceful light of that mild autumnal morning came the boats with their flashing oars striking time to a martial dirge as the neatly dressed sailors rowed to an open space on the landing, bearing the leaders who should lead no more. On the vessels at anchor, with flags at half-mast the minute-guns at intervals broke the silence and woke echoes along the rocky coast. In the little glade at the water's edge a procession of British and American officers, at peace now, walking side by side and followed by Perry with bowed head, paid the last tribute of respect as their comrades

Oliver Hazard Perry.

were laid in the new-made graves and the farewell volley reverberated through the wild recesses of the dim old forest

On the afternoon of this mystery veiled and decisive combat, as the thunders of the guns rolled over the sun-lit waters of Erie, they smote the ears of the inhabitants of the little town of Sandusky with "anxious fear and wonder." On the issue of the unseen battle hung their fate. A victory for Perry meant for them peace, security, and an end to the dread alarms of war. The triumph of the foe meant desolating incursions of the British and the savage excesses of Tecumseh and his painted warriors.

OLIVERUS H. PERRY. PRINCEPS STAGNO ERIENSE
CLASSAM - TOTAM CONFUDIT
VIAM INVENIT VIRTUS AUT FACIT
INTER CLASS. AMERI.
ET BRIT. DIE X. SEP.
MDCCCXIII.

The Perry Medal.

On the other side of the lake the roar of conflict echoed ominously as the British General Proctor and his red allies listened in silence. A deeper silence at length told that the struggle had ended. Through the portals of a lurid sunset, day passed into twilight and darkness, but no fleet courier brought tidings of victory. Later the gloomy result was suspicioned by Tecumseh, as clearly set forth in the following passage from his speech to Proctor:

"Listen, father! Our fleet has gone out; we know they have fought; we have heard the great guns, but know nothing of what has happened to our father with one arm. Our ships have

gone one way, and we are very much astonished to see our father tying up everything, and preparing to run away the other, without letting his red children know what he means. You always told us to remain here and take care of our lands, which made our hearts glad! Our great father, the King, is the head, and you represent him. You always told us you never could draw your foot off British ground; and now, father, we see you drawing back without seeing the enemy. We must compare our father's conduct to a fat animal that carries his tail on his back, but when affrighted, drops it between its legs and runs off."

The battle brought to the victors the results anticipated. One by one the British ports on the lake fell into the hands of the Americans and hostile arms no longer vexed Erie's broad expanse and forest fringed borders.

On October 22nd, Perry, accompanied by General Harrison, arrived at Erie where the victory was celebrated with great enthusiasm. Thence he proceeded to Buffalo, where in accordance with his suggestion the fleet was turned over to the command of Captain Elliott, and the young victor at the age of twenty-eight years, before proceeding on his triumphal journey homeward, looked for the last time on the blue waters of the lake with which his name will ever be associated in legend and history.

NOTES.

Oliver Hazard Perry was born at Kingston, Rhode Island, August 21, 1785, He died at Port Spain, Trinidad, August 23, 1819. Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry was a younger brother.

James Alexander Perry, brother of the Captain and with him, at the age of thirteen, on the Lawrence, was drowned seven years afterward off the coast of Chili, near Valparaiso.

Many writers state that Perry, as soon as the opposing vessels struck their colors, took an envelope from his pocket and using his stiff military cap for a writing desk, wrote with a pencil his famous message to General Harrison. This is an interesting story, but the facts are as stated in the preceding sketch of the battle.

NEWS OF THE VICTORY.

Of the reception of Perry's laconic report of the victory, the venerable Lewis Cass wrote in 1860:

"Towards evening on the 12th of September an express reached the camp at Seneca bringing the first news of the brilliant victory in which we felt so deep an interest. He was conducted to my tent, and delivered to me a package of dispatches. Among these was a letter for the Secretary of the Navy, and another for the Commanding General. The latter I opened and read with feelings it were vain to attempt to describe. It contained the memorable annunciation that the battle had been fought and the victory won, in those imperishable words, which I need not repeat, for they are everywhere engraved upon the American heart. The intelligence was immediately communicated to the troops, and those who were present, and are now living, can only appreciate the joyful emotions with which it was received. It was not only gratifying to their national pride, as a great naval victory, but it secured to them a safe passage across the lake, to the enemy's shore. The manifestations of this feeling, exhibited upon that occasion, are vividly impressed upon my memory."

EXTREME PUNISHMENT FOR DESERTION IN THE WAR OF 1812.

To many readers the treatment accorded to James Bird will seem unwarranted and extreme as all such punishments are, according to modern humanitarian standards. The spirit of the times, however, must be taken into consideration. This is revealed in an article that appeared originally in the Chillicothe *Supporter*, under date of July 9, 1814, as reproducted in *The Ohio Patriot* of Aug. 3, 1814. Following is a literal reproduction:

"We are informed that 26 soldiers of the U. S. army have been tried by the general court martial now convened at this place, & found guilty of desertion, 5 of whom are sentenced to be shot. Among the criminals was a soldier named Daniel Garter, who formerly lived on the Little Miami, near to Cincinnati, and where he has now a wife & several children; but

who since his desertion has so crippled himself as not to be able to walk without crutches. This man was sentenced to be branded on the cheek with the letter D, to have his right ear cut off, and his head shaved, and then drummed out of camp, which sentence was put into execution on Wednesday last; & in this crippled and lacerated situation was publicly drummed through the streets of the town. The most of the other criminals, we are informed, are sentenced to be picketed, a mode of punishment which is inflicted by compelling the culprit to stand with his heel upon a sharpe pointed stick. It is much to be regretted that corporal punishment by whipping has been abolished in our armies, as by this means new and barbarous modes of punishment have been introduced which are disgraceful to humanity."

PERRY'S BROTHER PROBABLY NOT IN THE BOAT.

George H. Bancroft, in describing Perry's passage from the *Lawrence* to the *Niagara,* says:

"Perry, who saw with the swiftness of intuition the new method that must be chosen now that the first failed, and who had already resolved to transfer his flag, with the certainty that, in the crippled state of the British, 'victory must perch on his banner,' immediately entered his boat with his commander's pennant and his little brother, and bade the four sailors whom he took as oarsmen, to row with all speed for the *Niagara.*"

With reference to the younger Perry, Dr. Usher Parsons, surgeon of the *Lawrence,* in speaking of the return of the commander to that vessel, says:

"Then casting his eyes about, he inquired—'where is my brother?' This brother was a young midshipman of thirteen years. He had, during the battle, acted as aid, running with orders to different parts of the ship; for you must know that in the din and uproar of battle, orders can hardly be heard at three feet distance. We made a general stir to look him up, not without fears that he had been knocked overboard. But he

was soon found in his berth, asleep, exhausted by the exercise and excitement of the day."

A. S. Mackenzie, whose sister married one of Perry's brothers, and who had every opportunity to know the facts in regard to this dramatic incident, in describing it says nothing of the presence of the younger Perry in the boat, nor does he mention this in his biographical sketch of the youth. It is therefore more than probable that the boy was not in the boat as stated by Bancroft and represented by the artist Powell.

THE PERRY-ELLIOTT CONTROVERSY.

After the battle a controversy arose between Elliott and his partisans on one side and Perry and his friends on the other. The former criticised Perry for not according Elliott his merited need of praise for his part in achieving the victory, and the latter accused Elliott of incompetence and cowardice for not bringing the *Niagara* more promptly into action. This controversy developed much bitterness. There were illustrated expositions of battle, serious investigations, fierce charges and counter-charges in type, and much spilling of ink. James Fennimore Cooper, himself a seaman as well as a writer, comes forth as a champion of Elliott. Capt. Alexander Slidell Mackenzie wields the pen most valiantly in defense of Perry, and with him is George H. Bancroft. The net result of this *post pugnam* combat seems to leave matters substantially as they are presented in Perry's official report.

Jesse Duncan Elliott.

MERIT AND RANK OF THE VICTORY.

The following extract from Mackenzie's appreciative life of Perry, indicates the high rank ascribed to this achievement:

"The splendor of this victory dazzles the imagination. It was gained by a portion of an inferior squadron over another every way superior, and throughout the action concentrated in its force. It was gained, more eminently than any other naval victory, by the exertions of one individual, a young man of twenty-eight, who had never beheld a naval engagement. He had dashed boldly into action with the *Lawrence,* counting upon the support of those immediately around him, and trusting that the rear of his line would soon be able to close up to his support. Deserted by the *Niagara,* which was to have encountered the second of the enemy's ships, and sustained only by the *Caledonia,* the *Ariel,* and the *Scorpion,* we find him resisting for more than two hours the whole of the British squadron. Nelson was indeed a splendid hero, the subject, in no slight degree, of Perry's admiration. But it may with truth be said that no one of his many brilliant victories was opposed by so many difficulties, or effected by so many resources of genius."

With this estimate Theodore Roosevelt does not fully agree. After declaring that the British were greatly overpowered in ships and armament, having only six vessels, of 1460 tons displacement, 440 men and combined broadsides of 459 pounds, against nine vessels of 1672 tons displacement, 416 men and aggregate broadsides of 936 pounds, he says:

"Captain Perry's name is more widely known than that of any other commander. Every schoolboy reads about *him,* if of no other sea captain; yet he certainly stands on a lower grade than either Hull or McDonough, and not a bit higher than a dozen others. On Lake Erie our seamen displayed great courage and skill; but so did their antagonists. The simple truth is, that where on both sides the officers and men were equally brave and skillful, the side which possessed the superiority in force, in the proportion of three to two, could not well help winning. The courage with which the *Lawrence* was defended has hardly ever been surpassed, and may fairly be called

heroic; but equal praise belongs to the men on board the *Detroit,* who had to discharge the great guns by flashing pistols at the touch-holes and yet made such a terribly effective defense."

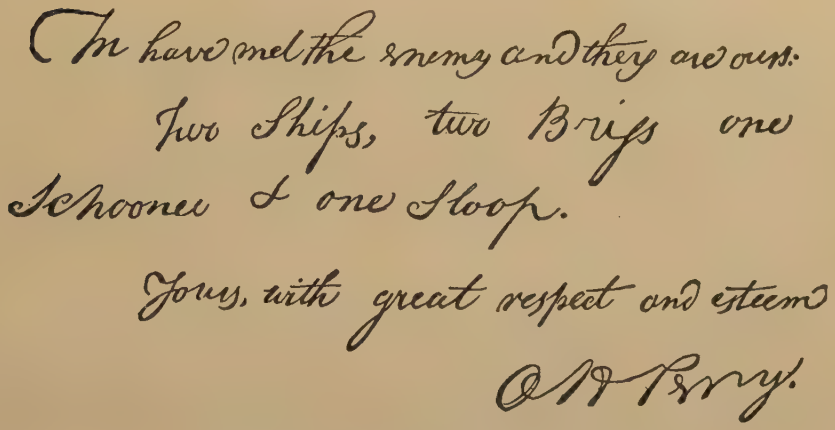
Of the relative strength of the two squadrons, Bancroft says:

"In ships, the British had the superiority, their vessels being stronger, and their forces being more concentrated; the American gun-boats at the right of the American line, separated from each other by at least a half cable's length, were not near enough for good service. In the number of guns the British had sixty-three, the Americans fifty-four. In action at a distance, the British, who had thirty-five long guns to fifteen, had greatly the advantage; in close action the weight of metal would favor the Americans. The British commander had 150 men from the royal navy, eighty Canadian sailors, and 240 soldiers, mostly regulars, and some Indians, making, with their officers, a little more than 500 men, of whom at least 450 were efficient. The American crews, of whom about one-fourth were from Rhode Island, one-fourth regular seamen, American and cosmopolitan, about one-fourth raw volunteers from Pennsylvania, Ohio but chiefly Kentucky, and about one-fourth blacks, numbered on the muster-roll 490, but of these, 116 were sick, nearly all of whom were too weak to come on deck, so that the efficient force of the squadron was a little less than 400."

The British and American squadrons combined threw at one shot of all their guns an aggregate of 1395 pounds. A single large gun of one of our modern battleships throws a projectile of nearly equal weight. The total displacement of the fifteen vessels engaged was 3,132 tons; that of one of the large ships of our present navy, the *Florida,* is 21,825 tons.

As will be seen, authorities differ widely as to the number of men actually engaged in this battle Richardson, a British authority puts the number of Americans at 532 which is about the number that shared the prize money as set forth on a following page.

OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE IN THE REPORTS OF CAPTAIN O. H. PERRY.


We have met the enemy and they are ours.
Two Ships, two Brigs one
Schooner & one Sloop.
Yours, with great respect and esteem
O H Perry.

U. S. Brig Niagara,
(Off the Western Sister, Head of Lake Erie),
September 10th, 1813, 4 P. M.

Dear General:

We have met the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop.

Yours with great respect and esteem,

O. H. Perry.

To General William Henry Harrison.

U. S. Brig Niagara, (off the Western Sister, head of Lake Erie.)
September 10th, 1813, 4 P. M.

Sir: — It has pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States a signal victory over their enemies on this lake.

The British squadron, consisting of two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop, have this moment surrendered to the force under my command, after a sharp conflict.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

O. H. Perry.

The Hon. William Jones,
Secretary of the Navy.

U. S. Schooner Ariel, Put-in-Bay,

September 13, 1813.

Sir: — In my last I informed you that we had captured the enemy's fleet on this lake. I have now the honor to give you the most important particulars of the action.

On the morning of the 10th instant, at sunrise, they were discovered from Put-in-Bay, where I lay at anchor with the squadron under my command. We got under way, the wind light at S. W., and stood for them. At ten A. M. the wind hauled to S. E. and brought us to windward; formed the line, and bore up. At fifteen minutes before twelve, the enemy commenced firing; at five minutes before twelve, the action commenced on our part. Finding their fire very destructive, owing to their long guns, and its being mostly directed at the *Lawrence,* I made sail, and directed the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the enemy. Every brace and bowline being soon shot away, she became unmanageable, notwithstanding the great exertions of the sailing master. In this situation, she sustained the action upwards of two hours, within canister distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and the greater part of her crew either killed or wounded. Finding she could no longer annoy the enemy, I left her in charge of Lieutenant Yarnall, who, I was convinced, from the bravery already displayed by him, would do what would comport with the honor of the flag. At half past two, the wind springing up, Captain Elliott was enabled to bring his vessel, the *Niagara,* gallantly into close action. I immediately went on board of her, when he anticipated my wishes, by volunteering to bring the schooners, which had been kept astern by the lightness of the wind, into closer action. It was with unspeakable pain that I saw, soon after I got on board the *Niagara,* the flag of the *Lawrence* come down; although I was perfectly sensible that she had been defended to the last, and that, to have continued to make a show of resistance would have been a wanton sacrifice of the remains of her brave crew. But the enemy was not able to take possession of her, and circumstances soon permitted her flag again to be hoisted. At forty-five minutes past two the signal was made for "closer action." The *Niagara* being very little injured, I determined to pass through the enemy's line; bore up, and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, giving a raking fire to them, from the starboard guns, and to a large schooner and sloop from the larboard side, at half pistol shot distance. The smaller vessels, at this time, having got within grape and canister distance, under the direction of Captain Elliott, and keeping up a well directed fire, the two ships, a brig, and schooner, surrendered, a schooner and sloop making a vain attempt to escape.

Those officers and men who were immediately under my observation, evinced the greatest gallantry; and I have no doubt that all others conducted themselves as became American officers and seamen.

Lieutenant Yarnall, first of the *Lawrence,* although several times wounded, refused to quit the deck.

Midshipman Forrest, (doing duty as lieutenant), and Sailing Master Taylor, were of great assistance to me.

I have great pain in stating to you the death of Lieutenant Brooks of the marines, and Midshipman Laub, both of the *Lawrence,* and Midshipman John Clark, of the *Scorpion;* they were valuable and promising officers.

Mr. Hambleton, purser, who volunteered his services on deck, was severely wounded, late in the action; Midshipmen Claxton and Swartwout, of the *Lawrence,* were severely wounded.

On board the *Niagara,* Lieutenants Smith and Edwards, and Midshipman Webster, (doing duty as sailing master), behaved in a very handsome manner.

Captain Brevoost, of the army, who acted as a volunteer, in the capacity of a marine officer, on board that vessel, is an excellent and brave officer, and with his musketry did great execution.

Lieutenant Turner, commanding the *Caledonia,* brought that vessel into action in the most able manner, and is an officer that, in all situations, may be relied on.

The *Ariel,* Lieutenant Packet, and *Scorpion,* Sailing Master Champlin, were enabled to get early into action, and were of great service.

Captain Elliott speaks in the highest terms of Mr. Magrath, purser, who had been despatched in a boat on service, previous to my getting on board the *Niagara*; and being a seaman, since the action has rendered essential service in taking charge of one of the prizes.

Of Captain Elliott, already so well known to the Government, it would almost be superfluous to speak. In this action he evinced his characteristic bravery and judgment; and, since the close of the action, has given me the most able and essential assistance.

I have the honor to enclose you a return of the killed and wounded, together with a statement of the relative force of the squadrons. The captain and first lieutenant of the *Queen Charlotte,* and first lieutenant of the *Detroit,* were killed; Captain Barclay, senior officer, and the commander of the *Lady Prevost,* severely wounded. The commanders of the *Hunter* and *Chippeway,* slightly wounded.

Their loss in killed and wounded I have not yet been able to ascertain; it must, however, have been very great.

Very respectfully, I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

O. H. Perry.

The Hon. William Jones,
Secretary of the Navy.

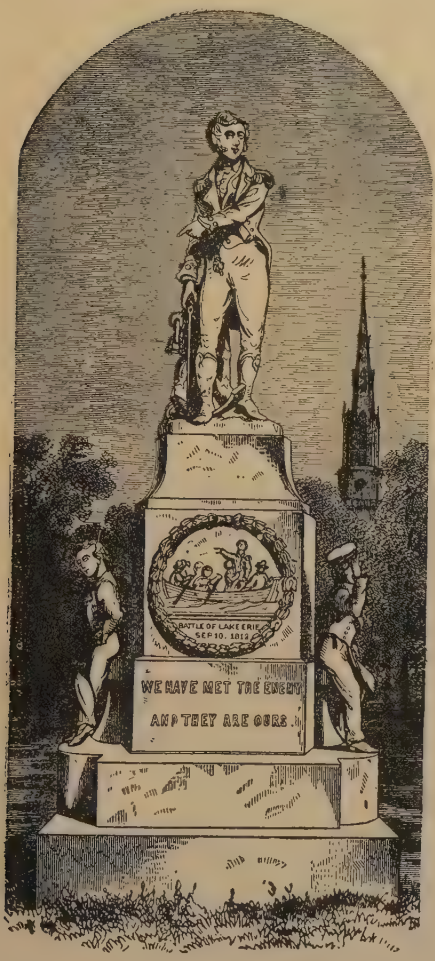
LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED ON BOARD THE UNITED STATES' SQUADRON, UNDER COMMAND OF O. H. PERRY, ESQ., IN THE ACTION OF 10th SEPTEMBER, 1813; VIZ.:

On Board the Lawrence, Killed.

John Brooks, lieutenant marines.
Henry Laub, midshipman.
Christopher Mayhew, quarter master.
James W. Allen, seaman.
Joseph Kennedy, ditto.
John C. Kelly, private in the regiment.
John Smith, seaman.
William Cranston, ordinary seaman.
Andrew Michael, seaman.
John Hoffman, ordinary seaman.
Charles Pohig, seaman.
Nelson Peters, ditto.
James Jones, ditto.
John Rose, ditto.
James Carty, sailmaker's mate.
Thomas Butler, seaman.
Wilson Mays, carpenter's mate.
James Brown, seaman.
Ethelred Sykes, landsman.
Philip Sharbley, corporal of marines.
Jesse Harland, private.
Abner Williams, ditto.

On Board the Lawrence, Wounded.

John J. Yarnall, 1st lieutenant, slightly.
Dulaney Forrest, 2d ditto, slightly.
William N. Taylor, sailing master, slightly.
Samuel Hambleton, purser, severely.
Thomas Claxton, midshipman, severely.
Augustus Swartwout, midshipman, severely.
Jonas Stone, carpenter, slightly.
William C. Keen, master at arms, slightly.
Francis Mason, quarter master, severely.
Henry Schroeder, ordinary seaman, severely.
Benoni Price, seaman, severely.
Thomas Robinson, ditto, severely.
Peter Kinsley, ditto, severely.
Nathan Chapman, ditto, severely.
Thomas Hill, ordinary seaman, severely.
Barney M'Cain, ditto, severely.
William Dawson, seaman, severely.
Westerly Johnson, ordinary seaman, severely.
John Newen, ditto, severely.
Joseph Lewis, ditto, slightly.
Ezekiel Fowler, ditto, slightly.
John E. Brown, quarter gunner, severely.
William Johnson, boatswain's mate, severely.
James Helan, ditto, slightly.
George Cornell, carpenter's mate, slightly.
Thomas Hammond, armorer, slightly.
William Thompson, seaman, severely.
George Varnum, ditto, severely.
James Moses, ditto, severely.



PERRY MONUMENT,
CLEVELAND, OHIO.

William Roe, ditto, severely.
Joseph Denning, ditto, severely.
William Daring, ditto, severely.
John Clay, ditto, severely.
Stephen Fairfield, ditto, severely.
George Williams, ditto, severely.
Lannon Huse, ditto, severely.
James Waddington, ditto, severely.
John Burnham, ditto, severely.
John Burdeen, ditto, severely.
Andrew Mattison, ditto, severely.
Jeremiah Easterbrook, ordinary seaman, severely.
Samuel Spywood, ditto, severely.
Robert Hill, seaman, slightly.
Francis Cummings, ordinary seaman, severely.
Thomas Reed, ditto, severely.
Charles Vandyke, ordinary seaman, severely.
William Simpson, ditto, severely.
Jesse Williams, ditto, slightly.
James Hadley, ditto, slightly.
James Bird, marine, severely.
William Burnett, ditto, severely.
William Baggs, ditto, severely.
David Christie, ditto, severely.
Henry Vanpoole, ditto, severely.
Thomas Tuff, landsman, severely.
Elijah Barlin, ditto, severely.
John Adams, ditto, slightly.
Charles Harrington, ditto, slightly.
William B. Perkins, ditto, slightly.
Nathaniel Wade, boy, severely.
Newport Hazard, ditto, slightly.

On the morning of the action, the sick list of the Lawrence contained thirty-one unfit for duty.

ON BOARD THE NIAGARA, KILLED.

Peter Morell, seaman. Isaac Hardy, Ordinary seaman.

ON BOARD THE NIAGARA, WOUNDED.

John J. Edwards, lieutenant.
John L. Cummings, midshipman.
Edward Martin, seaman, (since dead).

William Davis, ordinary seaman (since dead).
Joshua Trapnel, marine, (since dead).
Ronvell Hall, ordinary seaman.
George Platt, seaman.
Elias Wiley, ordinary seaman.
Henry Davidson, seaman.
John M. Strebeck, ordinary seaman.
John Freeman, ditto.
James Sansford, seaman.
Thomas Wilson, ditto.
Charles Davidson, seaman.
Daniel Bennet, ditto.
John Felton, boatswain's mate.
Sergeant Mason, marine.
Corporal Scott, ditto.
Thomas Miller, ditto.
John Rumas, ditto.
George McManomy, ditto.
George Scoffield, ditto.
Samuel Cochran, ditto.

On the morning of the action, the sick list of the Niagara contained twenty-eight unfit for duty.

ON BOARD THE CALEDONIA, WOUNDED.

James Artus, slightly.
James Philips, slightly.
Isaac Perkins, slightly.

ON BOARD THE SOMERS, WOUNDED.

Charles Ordun.
Godfrey Bowman.

ON BOARD THE ARIEL, KILLED.

John White, boatswain's mate.

ON BOARD THE ARIEL, WOUNDED.

William Sloss, ordinary seaman, slightly.
John Lucas, landsman, slightly.
Robert Wilson, seaman, slightly.

ON BOARD THE TRIPPE, WOUNDED.

Isaac Green, 26th regiment, badly.
John Nailes, soldier, 17th regiment, slightly.

ON BOARD THE PORCUPINE.

None killed or wounded.

ON BOARD THE SCORPION, KILLED.

John Clark, midshipman.
John Sylhamamer, landsman.

ON BOARD THE TIGRESS.

None killed or wounded.

Two days previous to the action, the sick lists of the small vessels contained the names of fifty-seven men unfit for service.

RECAPITULATION.

	Killed.	*Wounded.*	*Total.*
Lawrence	22	61	83
Niagara	2	25	27
Caledonia	0	3	3
Somers	0	2	2
Ariel	1	3	4
Trippe	0	2	2
Porcupine	0	0	0
Scorpion	2	0	2
Tigress	0	0	0
	27	96	123

S. HAMBLETON, *Purser.*
O. H. PERRY, *Captain and Senior Officer.*

American State Papers, Naval Affairs, pages 294–296.

SAMUEL HAMBLETON'S ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZE MONEY ON LAKE ERIE.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
Oliver H. Perry	Commander	$7,140 00	June, 1814.
John Y. Yarnall	Lieutenant	2,295 00	Nov. 6, 1814.
Dulany Forrest	Lieutenant	2,295 00	June 8, 1814.
Samuel Hambleton	Purser	1,214 29	June, 1814.
Samuel Horsley	Surgeon	1,214 29	June, 1814.
William S. Taylor	Sailing-master	2,295 00	June, 1814.
Thomas Breese	Chaplain	1,214 29	July 21, 1814.
Usher Parsons	Acting-Surgeon	1,214 29	Feb. 15, 1815.
Thomas Claxton	Acting M. mate	1,214 29	July, 1814.
Augustus Swartwout	Midshipman	811 35	Feb. 22, 1815.
Peleg K. Dunham	Midshipman	811 35	July, 1814.
Henry Laub	Midshipman	811 35	June 13, 1814.
James Alex. Perry	Midshipman	811 35	June 14, 1814.
John Fox	Gunner	1,214 29	Feb., 1817.
Joseph Cheeves	Boatswain	1,214 29	Nov., 1814.
Jonas Stone	Carpenter	1,214 29	Nov. 6, 1814.
William Steers	Pilot	447 39	Nov. 7, 1814.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
Thomas Hammond	Armorer	811 35	July, 1814.
William C. Keene	Master-at-Arms	811 35	July 26, 1814.
John Vose	Steward	811 35	Nov. 6, 1814.
Thomas Hill	Cook	447 39	Nov. 6, 1814.
John Newen	Quartermaster mate.	447 39	Jan. 11, 1816.
Ezekiel Fowler	Quartermaster mate.	447 39	Dec. 25, 1814.
Francis Masson	Quartermaster mate.	447 39	Aug. 22, 1814.
John E. Brown	Quarter-Gunner	447 39	Jan. 11, 1815.
William Lawson	Gunner's mate	811 35	Aug., 1814.
Henry Barker	Quarter-Gunner	447 39	Nov. 21, 1814.
John Williams	Boatswain's mate	811 35	Nov. 21, 1814.
James Healan	Boatswain's mate	811 35	Nov. 14, 1814.
William Johnson	Boatswain's mate	811 35	Nov. 21, 1814.
Wilson Mays	Carpenter's mate	811 35	July 18, 1814.
Joseph Southwick	Carpenter's mate	811 35	Dec. 4, 1814.
Daniel A. Brown	Carpenter's mate	447 39	July, 1814.
John Lawton	Carpenter's mate	811 35	Oct. 10, 1815.
George Cornell	Carpenter's mate	811 35	July, 1814.
Andrew Matteson	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
James Jackson	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
James D. Hammond	Seaman	214 89	Jan. 11, 1815.
Charles Pohig	Seaman	214 89	Sept. 27, 1817.
Daniel Harris	Seaman	214 89	July 1814.
Peter Kinsley	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Benoni Price	Seaman	214 89	Sept. 18, 1814.
John Bordain	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
William Dawson	Seaman	214 89	Dec. 14, 1814.
John Clay	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Mullen	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 11, 1814.
Richard Smith	Seaman	214 89	Nov., 1814.
William Rowe	Seaman	214 89	Oct. 5, 1815.
John Brown	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 11, 1814.
Daniel Johnson	Seaman	214 89	Jan. 11, 1815.
John Burnham	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 21, 1814.
Lannon Huse	Seaman	214 89	Sept. 18, 1814.
William Daring	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 21, 1814.
Domingo Alverez	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
James Moses	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Stephen Fairfield	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Samuel Brotherton	Seaman	214 89	Sept. 23, 1814
Barney McCain	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
Westal Johnson	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Dec. 15, 1814.
Hezekiah Sanford	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 18, 1814.
Jere. H. Esterbrook	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Benjamin Dring	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Thomas Robinson	Seaman	214 89	Dec. 20, 1814.
William Cranson	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July 14, 1814.
Samuel Lord	Boy	214 89	June 27, 1814.
James Hadley	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
George Varnum	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Elijah Parlin	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Joseph Jockins	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John M. Packett	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Oct. 5, 1815.
Samuel Spywood	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
Thomas Ford	Boy	214 89	July, 1814.
David Wilson	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Charles Vandyke	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Nathaniel Wade	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Barnes	Seaman	214 89	Aug., 1814.
William Almy	Boy	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
George Williams	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Dec. 14, 1814.
Joseph Harcum	Ordinary seaman	214 89	June, 1814.
James W. Allen	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Aug. 18, 1814.
William Thompson	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Joseph Denning	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Henry Stephens	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Jan. 11, 1815.
Thomas Reed	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Sept. 30, 1815.
Newport Hazard	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Jan. 11, 1815.
Robert Hill	Seaman	214 89	Dec. 23, 1814.
Abraham Fish	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Sept. 18, 1814.
Jesse Williams	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
James Waddington	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Sept. 18, 1814.
John Schroeder	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Anthony Johnson	Coxwain	811 35	July 8, 1814.
Jack Russell	Boy	214 89	Aug., 1814.
Cyrus Tiffany	Seaman	214 89	July 16, 1814.
John Bodge	Boy	214 89	Dec, 20, 1814.
Daniel Hull	Boy	214 89	Sept. 25, 1814.
James Green	Seaman	214 89	June, 1814.
Nathan Chapman	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
William Simpson	Seaman	214 89	April 14, 1817.
John Hoffman	Seaman	214 89	Mar. 20, 1815.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
John Adams	Landsman	214 89	Aug., 1814.
John Brooks	Lieut. marines	1,214 29	May 9, 1815.
James Tull	Sergeant	447 39	July, 1814.
William S. Johnson	Sergeant	447 39	July, 1814.
James McClure	Corporal	447 39	Feb. 15, 1815.
Matthew Lynch	Corporal	447 39	Dec. 3, 1814.
David Cristie	Private	214 89	Feb. 15, 1815.
William Insell	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
William Bags	Private	214 89	Dec. 25, 1815.
Henry Vanpool	Private	214 89	Feb. 4, 1817.
John Kennedy	Private	214 89	Mar. 15, 1816.
Charles Newton	Private	214 89	July, 1814.
James Rankin	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Richard Williams	Private	214 89	Feb. 4, 1817.
Dennis Doyle	Private	214 89	Feb. 27, 1815.
Joseph Mecias	Fifer	447 39	July 3, 1814.
George Gordon	Drummer	447 89	Nov. 26, 1814.
Philip Sharpley	Corporal	447 89	Dec. 25, 1814.
Frederick Smitley	Private	214 89	Dec. 14, 1814.
James Burd	Private	214 89	Jan. 10, 1815.
Jehu Marsh	Corporal	447 39	Nov., 1814.
John Sivers	Private	214 89	Nov. 25, 1814.
Abner Williams	Private	214 89	July, 1814.
Samuel Garwood	Private	214 89	Feb. 3, 1818.
William Burnett	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Jacob Frantz	Private	214 89	April 24, 1817.
Solomon Bardwell	Private	214 89	Dec. 3, 1814.
Richard Johnson	Private	214 89	Dec. 15, 1814.
John J. Packer	Private	214 89	Dec. 23, 1814.
Abraham Reeves	Private	214 89	Nov. 28, 1814.
Jesse Harlan	Private	214 89	Aug. 12, 1817.
John Ludd	Soldier	214 89	Jan. 11, 1815.
Thomas Tuft	Soldier	214 89	Sept. 25, 1814.
Hosea Sergeant	Soldier	214 89	Dec. 30, 1816.
Eben Cunningham	Soldier	214 89	Sept. 11, 1814.
Charles Harrington	Soldier	214 89	Sept. 11, 1814.
William B. Perkins	Soldier	214 89	Mar. 20, 1815.
Henry W. Brown	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Oct, 6, 1815.
Daniel Turner	Lieut. commandant	2,295 00	July, 1814.
Jesse Weatherly	Master's mate	1,214 29	Nov. 7, 1814.
J. E. McDonald	Act. Sailing-master	2,295 00	June, 1814.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
Benjamin Tolman	Quarter-gunner	447 39	Dec. 14, 1814.
Isaac Peckham	Carpenter's mate	811 35	Nov. 21, 1814.
John Rax	Boatswain's mate	811 35	Sept. 14, 1815.
Noah Gates	Steward	811 35	Nov. 6, 1814.
John Barnes	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Michael L. Brooks	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Thomas Lisco	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
David Rooks	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Jan. 19, 1815.
James Philips	Seaman	214 89	Sept. 14, 1814.
Benjamin H. Bailey	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 7, 1814.
Augustus Philips	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Dec. 13, 1815.
Samuel Cazneau	Seaman	214 89	July 23, 1816.
John Saunders	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Hanson Folks	Boy	214 89	Aug. 1, 1815.
Ezekiel Hatch	Boy	214 89	Feb. 3, 1815.
John McLane	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Lewis Lane	Seaman	214 89	Jan. 20, 1815.
Anthony Hysler	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 16, 1814.
William Treen	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
James Walker	Cook	447 39	Dec. 14, 1814.
Peter Williams	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Peter Fisher	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Feb. 27, 1815.
John Cain	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Thomas Green	Landsman	214 89	Dec. 15, 1815.
John McNitt	Landsman	214 89	Sept. 11, 1814.
William Shuler	Landsman	214 89	Sept. 11, 1814.
Daniel Switzer	Landsman	214 89	Sept. 11, 1814.
John Hull	Landsman	214 89	Sept. 11, 1814.
George Grady	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
Joseph Beckley	Orderly sergeant	447 39	Nov. 8, 1814.
Thomas H. Bradford	Private	214 89	Jan. 20, 1815.
James Artis	2d Sergeant	447 39	Nov. 8, 1814.
Thornton Tolliver	1st Corporal	447 39	Nov. 8, 1814.
Richard Mitchell	Private	214 89	Jan. 30, 1816.
David Hickman	Private	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
Charles Collrick	Private	214 89	Sept. 12, 1814.
Joseph Davidson	Private	214 89	Sept. 18, 1814.
Garland Parker	Private	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
Nathan Holbert	Private	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
William Nelson	Private	214 89	Mar. 20, 1816.
David Bryant	Private	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
Isaac Perkins	Private	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
John Norris	Private	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
McCager Bland	Private	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
John McHowell	Private	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
John Tucker	Private	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
Parker Jarvis	Private	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
John R. Cheetwood	Private	214 89	Aug. 31, 1815.
Joseph Frost	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John O'Neil	Pilot	447 39	Nov. 21, 1814.
Stephen Champlin	Sailing-master	2,295 00	July, 1814.
John W. Wendell	Midshipman	811 35	July, 1814.
Abner Enos	Pilot	447 39	July, 1814.
John Tisfill	Boatswain's mate	811 35	July, 1814.
Simeon Price	Quarter-gunner	447 39	July, 1814.
John Johnson	Carpenter's mate	811 35	Nov. 6, 1814.
James Duncan	Steward	811 35	July, 1814.
William Jackson	Cook	447 39	Nov. 8, 1814.
John Davis	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Charles Ray	Seaman	214 89	Sept. 26, 1815.
William Jackson	Seaman	214 89	Dec. 16, 1814.
John Yoekem	Seaman	214 89	Dec. 3, 1814.
Israel Weeks	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 21, 1814.
Samuel Parsons	Seaman	214 89	Oct., 1814.
Caleb Diamond	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Anthony Bowne	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Dec. 5, 1814.
James Ross	Landsman	214 89	Sept. 11, 1814.
Jacob Toole	Landsman	214 89	July 10, 1814.
James Sims	Landsman	214 89	Sept. 11, 1814.
James Archer	Boy	214 89	July, 1814.
Thomas Gurney	Boy	214 89	Aug. 29, 1814.
Alexander Metlin	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
John Sylhamer	Midshipman	811 35	Dec. 22, 1814.
John Clark	Landsman	214 89	Feb., 1817.
Joseph Berry	Corporal	447 39	Nov. 21, 1814.
Josiah Biggs	Private	214 89	Dec. 25, 1814.
William Reed	Private	214 89	Feb. 22, 1815.
Joseph Delany	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
John Clifford	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Henry Cook	Private	214 89	Jan., 1815.
Edward Welsh	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Charles Smothers	Private	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
Philip Johnson	Private	214 89	Apr. 19, 1815.
Isaac Devault	Private	214 89	Sept. 12, 1814.
Moses McGarvey	Private	214 89	Feb. 27, 1815.
George Senat	Act. Sailing-master.	2,295 00	July, 1814.
Cornelius Denike	Master's mate	1,214 00	July, 1814.
Daniel Armitage	Boatswain's mate	811 35	July, 1814.
William Barker	Steward	811 35	Nov. 6, 1814.
Alexander Anderson	Seaman	214 89	Dec. 14, 1814.
Daniel Haley	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Oct. 6, 1815.
Samuel Osborne	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 21, 1814.
Charles Wilson	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Jan. 9, 1815.
William Fisher	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Oct. 6, 1815.
John Lucas	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Joseph Robertson	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Jan. 9, 1815.
Samuel Sweezey	Landsman	214 89	Dec. 23, 1815.
Joseph Woods	Landsman	214 89	Dec., 1816.
Joseph Livington	Landsman	214 89	July, 1814.
Josiah Goodrich	Carpenter's mate	811 35	Sept. 11, 1814.
Lewis Dugall	Pilot	447 39	July, 1814.
David Little	Corporal	447 39	Dec. 20, 1814.
James McNealy	Private marine	214 89	Mar. 20, 1815.
Samuel Roof	Private	214 89	Mar. 20, 1815.
John Rodgers	Private	214 89	Oct. 6, 1815.
Lewis Gordon	Private	214 89	Nov. 21, 1814.
Henry Roberts	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
John Nesbit	Private	214 89	Dec. 2, 1814.
Thomas Cavil	Private	214 89	Apr. 19, 1815.
Samuel Thramin	Private	214 89	Sept. 9, 1817.
John Packet	Lieut. commandant	2,295 00	Nov. 18, 1814.
Thomas Brownell	Sailing-master	2,295 00	July, 1814.
Gamaliel Darling	Master's mate	1,214 29	July, 1814.
Mark Johnson	Quarter-gunner	447 39	July, 1814.
John Norton	Steward	811 35	July, 1814.
Asel Wilkinson	Pilot	447 39	Sept. 11, 1814.
Edward Storer	Seaman	214 89	Sept. 18, 1814.
James Euer	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 1814.
George Hutchins	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 25, 1814.
Samuel Williams	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Daniels	Seaman	214 89	Oct. 6, 1815.
Peter Fernandes	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
George Lewis	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Samuel Loyd	Cook	447 39	Nov., 1814.
Thomas Palmer	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Oct. 6, 1815.
Charles Williams	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Charles Thompson	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
James Serivener	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Chester	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 11, 1814.
William Slows	Landsman	214 89	July, 1814.
Paul C. Benja	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
George C. Poole	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
James Jackson	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Lucas	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Noble Lucas	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
John Shirk	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 12, 1814.
John Cook	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 26, 1814.
John Beason	Landsman	214 89	July 26, 1814.
James Mitchell	Landsman	214 89	Sept. 11, 1814.
Robert Anderson	Lieut. infantry	1,214 29	Sept. 11, 1814
Gilbert Bowman	Soldier	214 89	Feb. 13, 1815.
Thomas Anderson	Soldier	214 89	June 26, 1815.
Conrad King	Soldier	214 89	Nov. 15, 1815.
Francis Burns	Soldier	214 89	April 22, 1815.
Richard Norris	Soldier	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
William Smith	Soldier	214 89	Sept. 17, 1814.
Thomas C. Almy	Sailing-master	2,295 00	June 28, 1814
David C. Nicholls	Midshipman	811 35	July, 1814.
Clement Shannon	Boatswain's mate	811 35	July, 1814.
George Stanley	Steward	447 39	June, 1814.
Elliot Smith	Quarter-gunner	447 39	July, 1815.
Robert Craig	Quarter-gunner	447 39	July, 1814.
Josiah Webster	Cook	447 39	Dec. 4, 1814.
John Smith 2d	Seaman	214 89	Aug., 1814.
Charles Ordeen	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
James Murray	Seaman	214 89	June, 1814.
Levi Branch	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Peter Austin	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Otto	Quartermaster	447 39	July, 1814.
John Johnson Ray	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Anthony Williams	Boy	214 89	Dec. 20, 1814.
Reuben Wright	Carpenter's mate	811 35	July, 1814.
Heyden Armstrong	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 7, 1814.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
Eli Steward	Quarter-gunner	447 39	July, 1814.
Isaac B. Seal	Pilot	447 39	Dec., 1816.
Godfrey Bowman	Landsman	214 89	July, 1814.
Willard Martin	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Dec. 25, 1814.
William Pase	Landsman	214 89	July, 1814.
James Taneyhill	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 11, 1814.
Peter Ozee	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Smith	Soldier	214 89	Dec. 25, 1814.
Benjamin Hall	Soldier	214 89	July, 1814.
Joseph Wright	Soldier	214 89	Sept 12, 1814.
Hugh Larrimore	Soldier	214 89	Feb. 22, 1815.
E. L. Burting	Soldier	214 89	July, 1814.
Thomas Crossin	Marine	214 89	July, 1815.
Thomas Holdup	Lieut. commandant.	2,293 00	July, 1814.
Alexander McCully	Master's mate	1,214 29	July, 1814.
Patrick Fitzpatrick	Pilot	447 39	July, 1814.
John Brown	Boatswain's mate	811 35	Nov. 8, 1814.
William Boyle	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
James Gardner	Seaman	214 89	Sept. 18, 1814.
Peter Dunn	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
James Clark	Seaman	214 89	July 7, 1814.
Thomas Jones	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 7, 1814.
Samuel Dunn	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Palmer Sweet	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Jan. 20, 1815.
Thomas Folks	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Jeremiah Ryan	Landsman	214 89	Nov., 1814.
Wm. B. Brady	Steward	811 35	Aug. 18, 1814.
Henry McEwen	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Alex. McKillup	Landsman	214 89	Nov., 1814.
James Blair	Lieut. infantry	1,214 29	Nov. 6, 1814.
John Brown	Corporal	447 39	Nov., 1814.
William Woods	Private	214 89	Nov., 1814.
Garret Rush	Private	214 89	Feb. 9, 1815.
Sim. Flaherty	Private	214 89	Jan. 14, 1815.
David L. Blaney	Private	214 89	Feb. 13, 1815.
Isaac Green	Private	214 89	Nov. 26, 1814
Martin Sniff	Private	214 89	Sept. 12, 1814.
John McCarty	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Andrew Holliday	Private	214 89	Nov., 1814.
Abraham Johnson	Private	214 89	Nov., 1814.
John Henderson	Lieut. infantry	1,214 29	Nov. 12, 1814.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
John Decker	Private	214 89	Dec. 20, 1814.
John H. Smith	Master's mate	1,214 29	April 19, 1815.
William Harrison	Soldier	244 89	Nov. 21, 1814.
Levi Ellis	Sergeant	447 39	Jan. 11, 1815.
John Maless	Private	214 89	Jan., 1815.
Ezra Killey	Private	214 89	Sept. 11, 1814.
William Bonner	Private	214 89	Nov. 28, 1814.
A. H. M. Conklin	Lieut. commandant.	2,295 00	July, 1814.
Henry Griffith	Quarter-gunner	447 39	July, 1814.
Peter Brown	Boatswain's mate	811 35	Nov. 6, 1814.
Thomas Bradley	Seaman	214 89	Dec. 2, 1814.
John Lewis	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Elisha Atwood	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John McIntire	Steward	811 35	July, 1814.
John Rupely	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 7, 1814.
Robert Eakin	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
James Gray	Landsman	214 89	Nov., 1814.
Jesse Taylor	Landsman	214 89	July, 1814.
Martin Cronemiller	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 16, 1814.
Daniel Philips	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
Alex C. Stout	Midshipman	811 35	July, 1814.
Hugh Nelson Page	Midshipman	811 35	July, 1814.
James Lee	Pilot	447 39	Sept. 25, 1814.
Robert McGregor	Boy	214 89	July, 1814.
Alex. McClaskey	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 28, 1814.
William Webster	Corporal	447 39	Mar. 20, 1815.
Alex. McCord	Private	214 89	Mar., 1815.
John Hall	Private	214 89	July 24, 1815.
Har. C. Harrington	Private	214 89	Nov. 21, 1814.
Lewis Vanway	Private	214 89	Feb. 22, 1815.
John Martin	Private	214 89	Feb. 21, 1816.
Joseph Pomeroy	Private	214 89	July, 1814.
John Batis	Private	214 89	July, 1814.
George W. Drake	Private	214 89	Sept. 25, 1814.
Jesse D. Elliott	Master commandant.	7,140 00	June, 1814.
John J. Edwards	Lieutenant	2,295 00	Sept. 23, 1814
Nelson Webster	Act. sailing-master	2,295 00	July, 1814.
Robert R. Barton	Surgeon	1,214 29	Nov., 1814.
Humphrey Magrath	Purser	1,214 29	July, 1814.
Richard O'Neil	Pilot	447 39	July, 1814.
John B. Montgomery	Midshipman	811 35	Sept. 12, 1814.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
John L. Cummings	Midshipman	811 35	July, 1814.
Charles Smith	Midshipman	811 35	July, 1814.
Samuel W. Adams	Midshipman	811 35	Nov. 6, 1814.
Robert S. Tatem	Midshipman	811 35	July, 1814.
Simeon Warn	Midshipman	811 35	Nov. 10, 1814.
Edward Bridgeport	Gunner	1,214 29	Nov. 3, 1814.
Peter Barry	Boatswain	1,214 29	Nov. 8, 1814.
George Southwick	Carpenter	1,214 29	Nov. 6, 1814.
William Woodman	Steward	811 35	July, 1814.
John Coddington	Armorer	811 35	Dec. 7, 1814.
John Murray	Coxswain	811 35	
Lemuel Palmer	Carpenter's mate	811 35	Nov. 6, 1814.
John Donnelly	Carpenter's mate	811 35	Nov. 3, 1814.
William Arnot	Boatswain's mate	811 35	Aug. 27, 1815.
Edward Coffee	Boatswain's mate	811 35	Nov. 30, 1814.
George Adams	Quartermaster	447 39	July, 1814.
Charles Squires	Quartermaster	447 39	May 12, 1815.
John Gill	Quarter-gunner	447 39	Dec. 24, 1814.
William Chapman	Quarter-gunner	447 39	Nov. 18, 1814.
Hector Holcomb	Seaman	214 89	Aug. 10, 1814.
Charles Dossen	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Deniel Bennett	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Owen Cathcart	Seaman	214 89	Dec. 15, 1814.
Ebenezer Allen	Seaman	214 89	Feb., 1817.
Henry Davidson	Seaman	214 89	Dec. 19, 1814.
George Platt	Seaman	214 89	Aug. 12, 1814.
John Smith	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Lilley	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 7, 1814.
Edward Martin	Seaman	214 89	June 14, 1815.
Summer Adams	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 29, 1814.
George Brown	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 7, 1814.
Thomas Justice	Seaman	214 89	April 17, 1816.
David C. Bonnell	Seaman	214 89	Oct. 5, 1815.
William D. Edwards	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 7, 1814.
Gabriel Henburgh	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Benjamin Fleming	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
James Timmons	Seaman	214 89	Feb. 27, 1816.
James H. Lansford	Seaman	214 89	Aug., 1814.
George Berry	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 7, 1814.
John H. Wingate	Seaman	214 89	Sept. 18, 1814.
James Matthews	Seaman	214 89	Nov., 1814.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
James Bowden	Seaman	214 89	Sept. 23, 1814.
William White	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Reuben Taylor	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Japhta Southland	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 28, 1814.
John Deviney	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Anthony	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Dec. 15, 1814.
Richard Devaux	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Ethan Baneker	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Dec. 15, 1814.
William Robinson	Landsman	214 89	Dec. 14, 1814.
Roswell Hall	Landsman	214 89	Nov. 26, 1814.
Samuel Poole	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John James	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Dec. 15, 1814.
Moses Amos	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 14, 1814.
Elijah Burdine	Landsman	214 89	Sept. 25, 1818.
John Freeman	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Dec. 21, 1814.
Edwin Johnson	Ordinary seaman	214 89	April 16, 1816.
Francis Bogle	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Dec. 4, 1814.
Nathaniel Sanford	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July 5, 1814.
Stephen Stacy	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Anthony Levery	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Dec. 23, 1814.
Colin Cobbins	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Dec. 5, 1814.
Isaac Johnson	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Jan. 11, 1815.
John Bellamy	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 2, 1814.
Bernard Crandle	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Andrew Norton	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Oct. 11, 1815.
Francis Cadens	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Oct. 5, 1815.
Jonathan Ford	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
Peter Diest	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Roderick	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Oct. 5, 1815.
John M. Strebeck	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Colston	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Frank	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 21, 1814.
Zephta Wood	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
John Ewen	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Sept. 18, 1814.
Franklin Drew	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 26, 1814.
Elias Wiley	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Asael Matthewson	Landsman	214 89	Sept. 25, 1814.
John Bryan	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Manuel	Boy	214 89	July, 1814.
John F. Miller	Landsman	214 89	Jan. 11, 1815.
William Snow	Landsman	214 89	Dec. 20, 1814.
Israel Bailey	Landsman	214 89	Nov., 1816.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
William Newton	Boy	214 89	Nov. 26, 1814.
Jacob Webber	Quartermaster	214 89	Nov. 26, 1814
Benjamin Myrick	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 21, 1814.
Henry White	Ordinary seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
David Birdsall	Seaman	214 89	July, 1814.
John Wharfe	Seaman	214 89	Nov. 28, 1814.
John Haggerman	Seaman	214 89	Sept. 11, 1814.
John Starr	Ordinary seaman	214 89	Nov. 21, 1814.
Joseph E. Smith	Lieutenant	2,295 00	July, 1814.
Jonathan Curtis	Sergeant marines	447 39	Jan. 19, 1815.
Henry B. Breevoort	Captain infantry	2,295 00	Nov. 6, 1814.
William Murray	Private	214 89	Feb. 15, 1815.
Freeman West	Private	214 89	July, 1814.
London Cochran	Private	214 89	July, 1814.
Daniel Maltzdocker	Private	214 89	July, 1814.
William Henry	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Samuel Cochran	Private	214 89	Nov. 8, 1814.
Samuel McKinney	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Lyman Griswold	Private	214 89	Sept. 18, 1814.
William Gray	Private	214 89	July, 1814.
William Blair	Private	214 89	Aug. 19, 1814.
Sanford A. Mason	Sergeant	447 39	May 16, 1816.
Andrew D. Scott	Corporal	447 39	July, 1814.
Esra Younglove	Second corporal	447 39	Sept. 18, 1814
George Scofield	Private	214 89	Nov. 29, 1815.
Samuel Hadfield	Private	214 89	Jan. 10, 1815.
Griffin Burnett	Private	214 89	Jan. 31, 1816.
William Hockensmith	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
John B. Duncanson	Private	214 89	Dec. 9, 1814.
John Reems	Private	214 89	May 16, 1815.
William Ellis	Private	214 89	July, 1814.
John McCoy	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
Henry Tate	Private	214 89	May 16, 1815
James Bailey	Private	214 89	May 16, 1815
Charles Lyman	Private	214 89	May 16, 1815
Thomas Miller	Private	214 89	Jan. 31, 1816.
John Thompson	Private	214 89	May 16, 1815.
John Osburn	Private	214 89	May 16, 1815.
William Hocker	Private	214 89	May 16, 1815.
Alexander Wright	Private	214 89	Dec. 7, 1815.
Henry Webster	Private	214 89	Nov. 21, 1814.

Names.	*Rank.*	*Amount.*	*When Paid.*
Charles Harten	Private	214 89	Sept. 18, 1814.
George McManomy	Private	214 89	May 16, 1815.
Joseph Morris	Private	214 89	May 16, 1815.
Frederick Miller	Private	214 89	May 16, 1815.
Frederick Vantruce	Private	214 89	May 16, 1815.
Aron Coats	Private	214 89	May 16, 1815.
Joshua Trapnell	Private	214 89	June 7, 1814.
John Bromwell	Private	214 89	Jan. 20, 1815.
John Denton	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
John H. George	Private	214 89	June 26, 1815.
David Flagg	Private	214 89	Nov. 6, 1814.
John Felton	Boatswain's mate	811 35	Oct. 5, 1815.
Daniel Dobbins	Sailing Master	2,295 00	Nov. 20, 1815.
James Fritz	Boy	214 89	Dec. 1, 1815.
John W. Palmer	Master's Mate	1,214 29	Dec. 24, 1815.
James Benner	Seaman	214 89	Dec. 23, 1815.
Abednego Hayes	Seaman	214 89	Jan. 18, 1816.
George Stockton	Captain Army	2,295 00	Mar. 6, 1816.
John Heddleson	Lieutenant	1,214 29	April 24, 1816.
William Ramsdale	Seaman	214 89	May 16, 1816.
William Anderson	Seaman	214 89	June 21, 1816.
John Cherry	Quarter-Gunner	447 39	July 24, 1816.
James Coburn	Army Lieutenant	1,214 29	Feb. 20, 1818.
John Daniels	Seaman	214 89	May 4, 1818.
		$234,020 53	

Amount of prize money received at the Navy Department, being the amount appropriated, with the exception of one-twentieth reserved for Commodore Chauncey, June 6, 1814	$242,250 00
Amount expended as per foregoing roll	234,020 53
	$8,229 47

The foregoing list is copied from American State Papers, Vol. XIV, Naval Affairs, Vol. I, pp. 566-572. It contains the names of 534 officers and men. The orthography and order of changed. Burd should, of course, be Bird, as in the list of wounded on the *Lawrence*. With the list in the volume from which it was copied, are notes after each name explaining to whom the money was paid.

BRADY'S LEAP.

BY E. O. RANDALL.

In what is known as "Tract 29," issued in 1875 by the Western Reserve Historical Society, the "tradition"—as the Tract calls it—of Brady's leap is related. That a famous leap by Brady was made, at the place generally designated as the site, there is little or no doubt. The time and attending circumstances of the achievement are much in dispute, and wrote Mr. L. V. Bierce, in 1856, "the numerous traditions respecting Brady's Leap across the Cuyahoga River, and many other hair breadth escapes and adventures of that old frontiersman grow more and more vague and conflicting with the lapse of time."

"Tract 29" consists mainly of a letter written at Akron, in 1856, to one Seth Day, by Frederick Wadsworth, in which letter Wadsworth states that in 1802 he was residing in Pittsburg and there met "a man by the name of John Sumerall," who had long lived in Pittsburg and who had been an "intimate friend of Brady," from whom he (Sumerall) learned the particulars of his (Brady's) life and adventures. According to Sumerall's account Samuel Brady "a powerful strong man, kind hearted, but an uncompromising and deadly enemy to the Indians," lived in his youth in Pennsylvania. During an Indian raid the people of Brady's settlement were killed and Brady escaping "swore eternal enmity to the whole Indian race." Sumerall relates to Wadsworth many of the encounters Brady had with the red men and among escapades the one involving the famous leap. Sumerall gave Wadsworth the date of this feat but the latter failed to remember it. This lapse of memory by Wadsworth is unforunate as that is the main point in dispute by different relators of the incident. Wadsworth recites the story at some length as he had it from Sumerall who had it from Brady. Briefly the account is that Brady—at the time in question, date not given—left Pitts-

burg with three or four companions, "on a scout toward the Sandusky villages," and arrived there only to be captured by a party of twelve Indians. His companions were killed in the encounter. The Indian captors hastened their prize prisoner to their village amid great rejoicings of the tribesmen. His execution at the stake was decreed. The tribesmen assembled to witness the burning. There seemed to be no hope for Brady when he espied the renegade Simon Girty in the Indian crowd. They had been boys together and had been companions in frontier adventures. Brady plead with Girty to rescue him from his fate but to no avail as Girty, at first pretending not to recognize his old friend, finally refused to aid him. He now "begged Girty to furnish him with the means to take his own (Brady's) life" and thus escape the horrible tortures awaiting him. But without effect. Girty was implacable. The victim was tied to the stake; the fagots heaped about him; "the fires were lighted and the excitement among the Indians intense." The Indian circle around him drew closer and he began to feel the flames. He watched his opportunity, when in the confusion of the scene, a fine looking squaw, belonging to one of the chiefs, ventured too near him for her own safety. With a mighty effort, Brady broke the withes that bound him, leaped over the burning fagots, caught the squaw by the head and shoulders and threw her into the burning pile and amid the consternation and panic following, sprung forth and fled for the forest. Brady was a swift runner and easily outdistanced his pursuers. The Indians were of course soon in hot pursuit and a long chase, lasting a day or more, ensued. It continued for a hundred miles until he reached the Cuyahoga river in Franklin Township, Portage County, at what is now the town of Kent. The Indians were close upon him, and a number of times came near overtaking him. He had intended crossing the Cuyahoga at a place called "Standing Stone" on the Indian trail from Sandusky to the Salt Springs, a few miles south of Warren, Trumbull County. He was obliged to change his course and followed down the river until he found himself at the Narrows, the narrowest place in the river channel, "the Indians close on his track behind him; he had not a moment to spare and as it was life or death with

him he made the famous Brady's leap across the Cuyahoga River."

Some years before writing the letter, giving this account, Wadsworth visited the site of this leap, accompanied by a Mr. Haymaker who had personally known Brady: "We measured the river where we supposed the leap was made and found it between twenty-four and twenty-six feet. Brady jumped from the west to the east side; the banks on each side of the stream were nearly of the same height, the flat rock on the west side descending a very little from the west to the east. Brady "caught the bushes on the bank as he landed and fell some three or four or five feet before he recovered and got out." By this time the Indians were within a few rods of the river and when they saw him on the opposite bank of the river they set up a terrible yell; "but none of them attempted to follow in jumping the river." Three or four Indians fired at him, and wounded him slightly in the leg. The Indians then crossed the river at Standing Stone and continued their pursuit until Brady arrived at the small lake (Brady's Pond), about a mile east of the Cuyahoga River. Here he found the Indians were gaining on him and as the wound in his leg was troubling him a little, "he must either secret himself in the lake or be again taken prisoner." He plunged into the lake and "secreted himself under the water; amongst the lily pads, or pond lilies; he found a hollow weed which he could breathe through with his head under the water, this was in the fore part of the day and he remained in the lake until the next morning; he heard the Indians about the lake all day and until late at night." The more likely account is that Brady concealed himself in the water beneath the branches of a tree fallen in the water's edge. In any event the Indians supposed their pursued was drowned and gave up the hunt. Brady escaped to be the hero of many other events.

Such is the story Wadsworth relates in "Tract 29." There are other variations told by other reciters. The feature of the leap is usually similarly told but the secretion in the lake has different interpretations.

As to the date of this noted occurrence we are of the opinion that it was in the year 1780, for it was May of that year that

General Brodhead, then at Pittsburg, having learned that an army of British and Indians was assembling on the Sandusky River, in preparation for an attack on Fort Pitt, directed Captain Samuel Brady—same Brady—to go to the Sandusky and learn the situation in the Indian center. On this particular errand (1780) Brady was accompanied by two or three companions, all dressed and painted like savages. The party reached the Sandusky River at Lower Sandusky, the Indian center (now Fremont). They waded, under cover of night, from the river on to the Island now called Brady's Island—opposite the Indian town—where they lay in a thicket all the next day, watching the Indians enjoying a horse-race near the river bank. The tradition is that the party were discovered, Brady's companions killed and Brady himself was captured and escaped as recited in "Tract 29." Butterfield in his "History of the Girtys" places the episode in the year 1783. But that is too late for at that time the Revolution in Ohio was practically over and Brodhead had no need of Brady's spying expedition at that time and the summer of 1782 was occupied with the Moravian massacre and the Crawford Expedition. There is no intimation anywhere of the occurrence of the event in that (1782) year. It may possibly have been in 1781. But all indications point to the summer of 1780 when Brodhead sent Brady to the Sandusky town. The circumstances all point to that date. Still the mist of mere tradition obscures the certainty of history. One thing is certain, the leap was made and the place is indisputably located.

Recently—September, 1911—the Editor of the *Quarterly* journeyed to Kent to view the exact spot. But that visit was somewhat disappointing as there are now no indications of the natural conditions prevailing at the time of the famous achievement. The Cuyahoga River flows through the center of the picturesque little town of Kent. At the exact spot designated, the river, in early days, found its narrowest passage then some twenty-two feet in width. The banks on both sides were then of perpendicular height of twenty-five or more feet—some writers say forty. But time and the encroachments of civilization have leveled down these banks until they now rise only a few feet above the water's surface; moreover the

rocky formation—formerly the base of the earthen banks— flanking each side of the river channel has been worn away by the water's current and by the blasting of engineers to facilitate the river transportation, until the stream is today twice the width it was when Brady cleared the chasm with a bound.

We have given above the substance of "Tract 29," concerning Brady's Leap. Another authority, though not quite so explicit is the account in the Draper Manuscripts, a copy of which we secured from the archives of the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. It is catalogued in the Library as Draper Mss. "S" Vol. 8, pp. 133-140, inclusive. By permission of the distinguished Librarian, Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, we publish the manuscript.

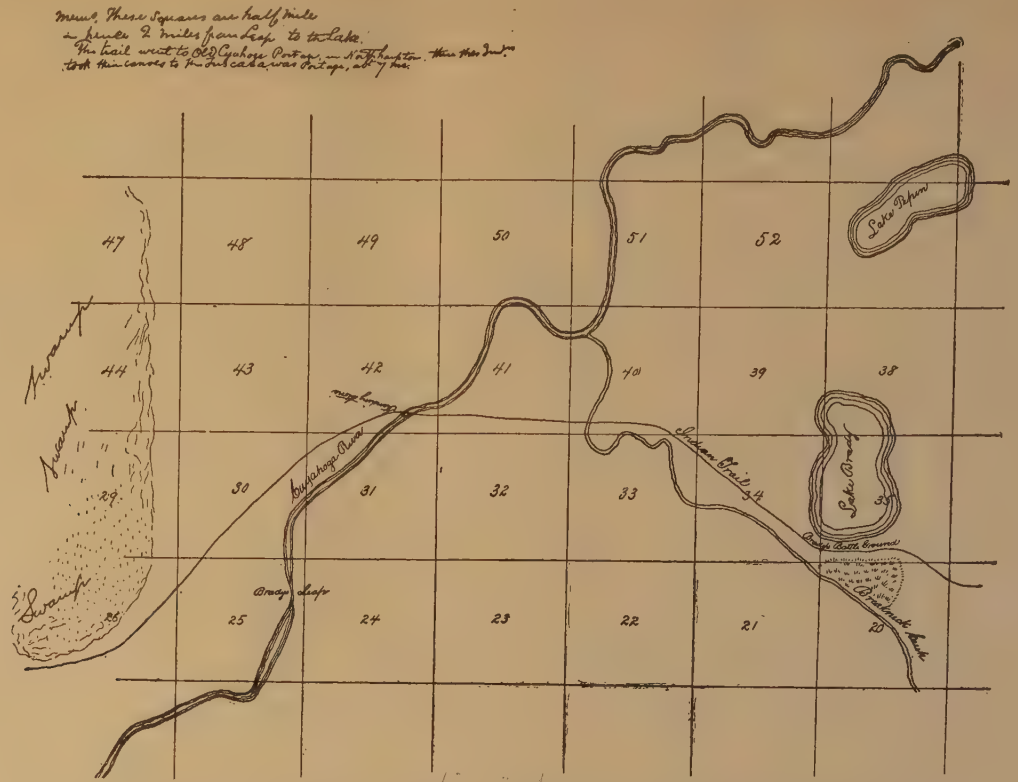
FROM GEN. SAM. C. D. HARRIS, RAVENNA, *O.*,

BORN IN CONNECTICUT, NOV. 23. 1786.

Gen. Harris came to the country in 1812; then heard the stories of the *Leap of Brady's,* and his battle at *Brady's Lake,* from his brother-in-law, *Ralph Buckland,* who came in 1799, and others.

This is *Gen. Harris'* strong recollection of these interesting narratives: The Indians had committed depredations on the frontiers, and Brady followed them to Cuyahoga Portage at what is now Northampton. There came upon the Indians, and fired upon them, but as the Indians were much the most numerous, *Brady* found he had not force enough successfully to resist them, and accordingly directed his men to disperse, which they did. The Indians either knowing *Brady,* or at least suspecting him as the leader, directed some of their fleetest runners and bravest warriors after; they followed him, in hot pursuit, to the Cuyahoga, and finding himself closely pursued, and partly hemmed in, and three quarters of a mile yet to the ford at *the Standing Stone,* left the trail, & bent his course for the Narrows, boldly resolving to leap the fearful chasm, and thus elude his enemies. And this feat he successfully accomplished.

General Harris, as a practical surveyor, measured the spot in the fall of 1812, and found it just 22 feet across; then there



Map accompanying Draper MSS. account of Brady's Leap. Map shows Indian trail, place of Brady's Leap and Lake Brady. The squares are one-half mile square.

was a bridge on the very spot, made by *Ralph Buckland* in 1800 or 1801; subsequently to 1812, a bridge was erected about 40 or 50 rods above; and near the leap spot, a negro woman fell on a small footbridge, and they had to get her out with ropes.

The ground was gently descending on the west side from the war-trail to the leap locality; the banks of the river here were nearly on a level with each other, but on the east side was a shelf or bench some three feet wide, and some four or five feet below the top of the bank, and this bench was some thirty or forty feet long—& upon this *Brady* probably alighted, which served to favor his desperate effort. This ledge or bench was blasted off about 1840 when the canal was building. Both banks of the river, from the *Standing Stone* down to the little island, about 120 rods below the Narrows, were lined with scattering hemlocks of various dimensions, some quite large, and back of this hemlock skirt were scattering oaks.

As *Brady* rose the eastern bank, the Indians fired on and wounded him—for they dared not follow the bold adventurer; & had to go above three fourths of a mile to the ford at *the Standing Stone,* or below to the little island, something over a third of a mile—probably some went either way, hoping to head *Brady,* weary & wounded as he was, and doubly exhausted as they very well knew he must have been after making such a herculean leap as he had accomplished. But *Brady* never flagged in his efforts, but kept on rapidly to the beautiful pond or lake which has ever since borne his name, just two miles from the Narrows where he made his memorable leap. Weary & exhausted, & well-knowing his enemies were yet pursuing him with the ferocity of blood-hounds, he plunged into the water, where it was some 12 feet deep, & hid himself under a large chestnut tree which had fallen into the lake at its southern end, & close to the battle-ground & where with pond lilies & flags to aid in screening him, he remained in quiet, while the Indians trailing his blood upon the prostrate tree, walked out upon its trunk, & concluded he had sunk beneath the waters, like a brave warrior, rather than suffer the loss of his scalp-lock at the hands of his foes. The Indians, of course, now gave up the fruitless chase, and returned—doubtless wondering at Brady's almost superhu-

man leap, & exulting that the mortal foe of the Red Men would trouble them no more. But they counted without their host, for Brady yet lived to make many a one of their murderous and treacherous race bite the dust in death. The chestnut tree which served our hero so well on this occasion, was yet to be seen after 1812, and was seen by Gen. Harris.

Brady's Lake Ambuscade.—Brady, at another time, pursued Indians who had been committing mischief; & as he and his party neared *Brady's Lake,* the trail became so fresh, that *Brady* knew he was close upon them. He placed his men in ambush on either side of the bridge at the southern extremity of this beautiful sheet of water,—which was a little over half a mile in length. This lake is now used as a reservoir for the canal, & now extends much farther to the north than formerly, nearly to Lake Pepin. Having thus disposed of his men, Brady then proceeded with a chosen few cautiously to the Standing Stone, & there discovered the Indians encamped and eating; and he & his party boldly fired upon the astonished Indians, who probably thought themselves beyond the reach of pursuit, eighty miles as they were from the mouth of Beaver. (See Olden Time, Vol. II, p. 351, Irvine's letter, 1788.) *Brady* knew well what he was about, & resolved to play the Indians a bold game of their own kind, and the moment he fired upon them, he and his men beat a quick retreat as though alarmed at their own temerity. The ill-fated Indians followed in hot pursuit, and in a few minutes were unconsciously drawn into the fatal ambuscade, where on either side of the trail & at the east end, Brady's intrepid warriors were secreted with their deadly rifles all poised in waiting for the approach of the foe—and as Brady reached the eastern extremity of the ambuscade, he fired his signal gun at the Indians as they were now completely in the net set for them, when the whites on either hand gave a general fire at the Indians now huddled together in stupid surprise, & nearly all were killed. *Gen. Harris* saw plenty of bones scattered around after he came to the country. A broken sword was found by the *Stewart* family (*Jonathan Stewart* found it) after the settlement of the country—say about 1820—the hilt of brass was sound, & is yet preserved. It was found in the swamp below.

The late *Gen. Joshua Woodward,* of Franklin, one of the earliest settlers there, he and—*Scott*, of Youngstown, who knew *Brady* well (*Scott* has been dead several years) relate about the Leap just as here related—& all the early relators agreed precisely in the particulars of the narrative.

The Cuyahoga at the Narrows where the Leap was made—the Indian trail—the Standing Stone—*Brady's Lake* and battle-ground—are represented on an outline map (See map opposite page 154), made with much care by *Gen. Harris* for me, on a separate sheet of paper. The Indian trail went to Old Cuyahoga Portage, in Northampton; there the Indians took their canoes to the Tuscarawas portage, about 7 miles.

Site of Brady's Leap as it Appears **To-day.**

EDITORIALANA.

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E. O. Randall

GENERAL BRINKERHOFF.

Elsewhere in this *Quarterly* we give notice of the death of General Brinkerhoff with an extended account of his busy and useful life and many of its prominent achievements. But no written record of the life of such a man can adequately present what he really was to the world in which he lived. The inestimable outflow of a beautiful and true character, ever loyal to the highest ideals of life, cannot be recorded, cannot be duly valued, cannot in the fullest extent be appreciated. Back of all he did, broad and lasting as it may have been, is the man. Therein lay his power, his sway, over fellowmen. Sweet and gentle in disposition, ever courteous and urbane in manner, tenacious of his own convictions, when once formed, but tolerant of the views and beliefs of others, his life was a benign atmosphere, soothing and strengthening to all with whom he came in contact. He loved men, he loved children, he loved nature in all her varied forms, and buoyed by a hopeful and optimistic temperament, he rose above the petty annoyances of everyday experience and above the greater trials and disappointments in effort and ambition. He was ever a thoughtful and sincere student. All realms of knowledge attracted his receptive and capacious mind. He studied men and knew human nature. He read books and absorbed their contents. The problem of life was ever fresh and deeply interesting to him. The greater query of the future was his constant meditation. He was unhampered by the dogmas of narrow sectarians, but he was steadfast in the belief of a divine and supreme intelligence and the adjustment in a better and unseen world of all that seemed wrong or awry in this. He had a deep sense of responsibility. Every duty that came to him was earnestly and painstakingly discharged. He sympathized with the distressed and the unfortunate. It was ever his chosen task to help others by word or deed.. Selfishness found no lodging in his makeup. Such men live the highest life in this world of flesh and blood and accomplish things for themselves and others, and the memory of such men is a lasting impetus to those who survive them.

Through a period of nearly twenty years the present writer knew, admired and respected Roeliff Brinkerhoff. Many a delightful hour have we spent in his presence, an auditor to his rare and interesting reminiscences, a recipient of his helpful cheer and a beneficiary of the

stimulation of his firm assurance that all is well here below and all will be better in the world beyond. His life was above reproach, his career an inspiration. None knew him but to love him, none named him but to praise.

No organization with which he was connected seemed to give him greater pleasure than the Archaeological and Historical Society. Its field of investigation, its province of collecting and preserving the records of the past and its work of storing the same for future generations of students, particularly appealed to his intellectual activities and his fondness for knowledge of what has been, what is and what may be. In the pantheon of those who have been most potent in the origin and growth of this Society—the memory of no one will be more permanent or more revered than that of Roeliff Brinkerhoff.

SITE OF FORT GOWER.

An interesting and informing volume could be written on Little Journeys to Historic Sites in Ohio, and it is one of the dreams of the Editor of the *Quarterly* to some day put forth such a volume. Meanwhile, as time permits such "little journeys" are being made. It was on a brilliant day last August (1911) that the Editor "tripped" to what in some respects is one of the most historic sites in Ohio. Many articles have been penned and published on the pioneer forts of Ohio. No state in the Northwest Territory can boast of as many stockades in the early days as can the Buckeye commonwealth. Romantic, dramatic and patriotic are the records of many of them. The French fort of 1745 at the mouth of the Sandusky, the scene of Nicholas' conspiracy; the stockade defense at Loramie's on the Pickawillany, the scene of the prelude of the contest between the French and the British for the Northwest Territory; the first fort built by the Americans, in the American Revolution, the famous Fort Laurens near the present site of Bolivar; Fort Stephenson (Fremont) on the Sandusky, the scene of the siege of Croghan's little band attacked by Proctor and his British veterans aided by Tecumseh and his horde of western savages, in the War of 1812; there are few stories in warfare equal to it for display of bravery and patriotism. But the fort least known to general history —for it is not mentioned by any of the leading historians—and yet most significant in western annals, for an event connected therewith, is Fort Gower at the mouth of the Hocking, or Hockhocking, as it was once called from the Indian name "Hockin-hockin."

It was the year 1774 in the month of June that the English Parliament passed the detested Quebec Act—an affirmation of the previous so-called Quebec Act of 1763. This act of 1774, provided a government for the Province of Quebec, embracing the territorial domain west and north of the Ohio River—known later as the Northwest Territory.

This arbitrary and oppressive jurisdiction covered the scattered western traders' posts and more firmly than ever excluded any control over it or interest in it by the sea-board colonies. Settlements from the American colonies were forbidden in this territory. The Pennsylvanians did not so seriously protest at this Quebec Act as the Pennsylvanians desired that the Indians be left in undisputed and undisturbed possession of the trans-Ohio empire, to the end that the fur trade, extensive and lucrative to the Quaker provincials, might be undiminished. But with the Virginians it was different. They claimed, by right of their charter, that a large part of the Ohio country belonged to Virginia. They claimed the right to invade the Ohio country and make settlements therein. This is not the place to enter upon a discussion of the motives and purposes of Dunmore's War — so-called — which followed on the heels of the Quebec Act. Suffice it to say, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, decided upon a hostile expedition across the Ohio, the main ostensible purpose being to chastise the Ohio Indians for their aggressive incursions across the Ohio River. We cannot follow the details of this so-called war. They will be found in an article by the writer in the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society Quarterly for October, 1902. Dunmore raised an army of some three thousand Virginia soldiers. This force was divided into two divisions, fifteen hundred of the contingent were placed under General Andrew Lewis, and following down the Kanawha reached Point Pleasant October 6th, where four days later the battle was fought in which Cornstalk, the head of the Shawnee Confederacy, with over a thousand Indian braves, was defeated and driven back across the Ohio. Lewis then, in accordance with instructions received from Lord Dunmore, crossed the Ohio and began his march to the Pickaway Plains, there to unite with Dunmore's division which was encamped on Sippo Creek. It is the Ohio invasion of Dunmore's troops that has to do with Fort Gower. While Andrew Lewis was pursuing the course mapped out for him by Dunmore, the latter had rendezvoused his division at Pittsburg, whence he embarked on the Ohio in a flotilla of a hundred canoes, besides keel boats and pirogues, with George Rogers Clark, Michael Cresap, Simon Girty and Simon Kenton—then known as Simon Butler—as scouts and guides. The army moved down the river until it reached the mouth of the Hocking, at which point the soldiers left the flotilla and built a stockade which Dunmore called Fort Gower, after Earl Gower, a personal friend of Dunmore in the British House of Lords. Leaving a garrison of one hundred men to guard the fort, on October 11th, with White Eyes, the Delaware chief as an extra guide, Dunmore began his march up the Hocking Valley, which he followed by way of the present sites of Athens and Logan, thence he struck a little south of west to the Pickaway Plains, finally establishing his camp, called Charlotte, on the north bank of the Sippo. Here took place the famous conference between the

Virginia general and Cornstalk and his accompanying chiefs, the Mingo Logan refusing to participate. The treaty of Charlotte was the result. The "war" was over and Dunmore, breaking camp on October 31st, proceeded on his return march to the Ohio. He reached Fort Gower on the 5th of November. Here the soldiers learned, for the first time, of the action taken by the first Continental Congress, which had assembled at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. The officers of the army thereupon held a meeting and passed resolutions which we here insert in full from the American Archives, 4th Series, Vol. 1, p. 962:

"GENTLEMEN:—Having now concluded the campaign, by the assistance of Providence, with honor and advantage to the colony and ourselves, it only remains that we should give our country the strongest assurance that we are ready, at all times, to the utmost of our power, to maintain and defend her just rights and privileges. We have lived about three months in the woods without any intelligence from Boston, or from the delegates at Philadelphia. It is possible, from the groundless reports of designing men, that our countrymen may be jealous of the use such a body would make of arms in their hands at this critical juncture. That we are a respectable body is certain, when it is considered that we can live weeks without bread or salt; that we can sleep in the open air without any covering but that of the canopy of heaven; and that our men can march and shoot with any in the known world. Blessed with these talents, let us solemnly engage to one another, and our country in particular, that we will use them to no purpose but for the honor and advantage of America in general, and of Virginia in particular. It behooves us then, for the satisfaction of our country, that we should give them our real sentiments, by way of resolves, at this very alarming crisis.

"Whereupon the meeting made choice of a committee to draw up and prepare resolves for their consideration, who immediately withdrew, and after some time spent therein, reported that they had agreed to and prepared the following resolves, which were read, maturely considered and, agreed to, *nemine contradicente,* by the meeting, and ordered to be published in the Virginia Gazette:

"Resolved, That we will bear the most faithful allegiance to His Majesty, King George the Third, whilst His Majesty delights to reign over a brave and free people; that we will, at the expense of life, and everything dear and valuable, exert ourselves in support of his crown, and the dignity of the British Empire. But as the love of liberty, and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen.

"*Resolved,* That we entertain the greatest respect for His Excellency, the Right Honorable Lord Dunmore, who commanded the expedition against the Shawnese; and who, we are confident, underwent the great fatigue of this singular campaign from no other motive than the true interest of this country.

"Signed by order and in behalf of the whole corps.

"BENJAMIN ASHBY, *Clerk.*"

These resolutions were virtually a Declaration of Independence on Ohio soil, by Virginian backwoodsmen, six months before the shot was fired at Concord that was "heard 'round the world," and more than a year and a half before the Liberty Bell of Independence Hall pealed forth the freedom of the Colonies. Is there a spot in Ohio or in the Northwest so deserving of a monument as this historic site of Fort Gower? Hockingport, to-day, is indeed an "out of the way" place. It is on no highway of travel, either of steam or electric conveyance. It can only be reached by ferry across the Ohio from the almost houseless Harris Station in West Virginia or by a drive or auto whisk from the little station of Coolville on the south-western division of the B. & O. The drive from Coolville, a distance of some six miles, is through a most picturesque country of hill, dale and river, for the route lies along the north bank of the Hocking river. It was early on the August morning that we pulled into the little cluster of houses that the inmates designate as Hockingport. The Ohio at this point takes a plunge due south, which the Hockhocking, or Hocking, as it is generally known, enters the Ohio by a curve from the west. The exact location of the almost forgotten stockade enclosure, as determined by the best traditionary lore obtainable, "on the spot," by the present writer, was upon the east or north side of the Hocking, on the elevated bank of the Ohio, from which its garrison could overlook the broad, placid sweep of the majestic river, which is here flanked on the Virginia side by a chain of graceful hills, the tip land of a spur of the Alleghany range. Our pilot, a scholarly gentleman of many years residence in the town, led us into the midst of a field covered with tall corn stalks and pointed out a few heavy stones, which, it is verily believed, were portions of the magazine receptacle of the fort. The palisaded earthworks, long since ploughed away, lay on the outskirts of the present burg, a little sleepy hamlet of only a score and a half scattered dwellings, in which abide some six score inhabitants, who live the simple life "far away from the madding crowd's ignoble strife." Surely Hockingport awaits a just renown, when it shall be the mecca of historical students, for within its precincts assembled the Virginia frontiersmen who, of all the Colonists, were the first to declare their willingness, if called upon, to unsheathe their swords "for the defense of American liberty."

THE ICE AGE IN NORTH AMERICA.

The Bibliotheca Sacra Company, Oberlin, Ohio, has recently issued a fifth and revised edition of "The Ice Age in North America, and Its Bearings Upon the Antiquity of Man." The author is Professor G. Frederick Wright, President of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. No writer could be better qualified for such a scholarly and informing work. Professor Wright has been a most conscientious and broad student of theology, and the language and literature of the Old and New Testaments. For some ten years he was professor in Oberlin College, on the harmony of science and religion. Professor Wright is also an accomplished scholar in geology and relative natural sciences. He was assistant on the Pennsylvania and United States Geological Surveys and is the author of several works of a geological character, bearing upon the formation of the earth's surface, not only in America but Europe and Asia, which countries he has visited at length in order to procure his material at first hand. Especially have his studies been directed to the American Continent and for this work, now reissued in enlarged and revised form, the author has given the ripest and best part of his life. When the first edition of this work was issued, in 1889, Professor Wright had been for fifteen years prominent in glacial investigations. He had published numerous articles in the scientific journals recounting his discoveries in New England, had traced the southern boundary of the glaciated region in America from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River, and published the results in Vol. Z. of the Pennsylvania Reports, and in Tract No. 60, of the Western Reserve Historical Society of Cleveland, which had kept him in the field for three years. His delineation of the glaciated boundary east of the Mississippi is that found on all maps at the present time. Later he completed investigations in this area and published the results in Bulletin No. 58 of the U. S. Geological Survey. In 1886, the opportunity came for him to visit Alaska and make protracted observations on the Muir Glacier, which though beginning to be visited by tourists had not been subjected to scientific scrutiny, and it was four years before any other scientific investigations of the glacier were carried on. He was then invited to give a course of Lowell Institute Lectures in Boston upon the subject that is the title of this book. Thus it appears that Professor Wright was unusually prepared for his work, so that it was not strange that his book took rank at once as the standard publication on the subject. The first edition of 1,500 copies, though sold at $5.00 a copy, was disposed of during the first season. Since then three more editions have been called for and the demand was such that the author has felt justified in spending a large amount of time and money in bringing the treatise up to date in this fifth revised and enlarged edition.

Speaking of the fifth and latest edition, the veteran geologist, Pro-

fessor Charles H. Hitchcock, says "It is the most convenient compendium in existence of the features of the Glacial period." Professor Boyd Dawkins, of England calls it "a valuable addition to the geography and geology of North America." The Journal of Education says "No specialist in geology in any part of the world ever thinks of being without this book, which is now in its fifth edition greatly enlarged, revised up to the latest contribution of the science." The London Daily News says that "it forms an almost complete study of glacial formations not merely in America but over most of the known world." The Springfield Republican speaks of it as "one of the most important scientific publications of the present year. . . . The volume should be given a place in every important public and school library." The San Francisco Bulletin says "The volume is a classic in the field of geology, and the new edition, printed in good, clear type, on the very best of paper, will be welcomed by geologists throughout the world."

The new material in the book is specially abundant concerning the glaciers of British Columbia, Alaska, and Greenland, and concerning the glacial deposits in Pennsylvania, Ohio, the Missouri Valley, and the valley of the Red River of the North, while the discussion of the cause and the date of the Glacial period, and of the remains of glacial man have been greatly enlarged.

It is interesting to note that the main conclusions at which Professor Wright had arrived in the first edition are amply supported by later investigations. His inference that the front of the Muir Glacier had retreated twenty or twenty-five miles between the visit of Vancouver in 1794 and Professor Wright's visit in 1886 in fully confirmed by the fact, (shown by photographs and later reports) that the front has receded seven miles since 1886. The late date of the close of the glacial period is supported by a great array of facts discovered during the last twenty years, especially by the author's own new investigation of the age of the Niagara Gorge, and of the small amount of post glacial corrosion which has taken place since the ice withdrew from Northern Ohio, and by Dr. Warren Upham's investigation of the age of the shore lines about glacial Lake Agassiz—a body of water which occupied the valley of the Red River of the North while the continental glacier was melting back from the Canada line to Hudson Bay. The existence of man in America before the close of the Glacial period, so fully discussed in the first edition, is made still more certain by a number of subsequent discoveries. Professor Wright is confident, however, that this does not indicate so great an antiquity as is commonly supposed. He believes he has evidence to prove that glacial man in America was contemporary with highly civilized man in the valleys of the Nile and of the Euphrates, and in Central Asia.

Thus much of the work and the impression it has created on the leaders of scientific scholarship.

It is not the purpose of the Editor of this *Quarterly* to review in any detail the contents of this "Ice Age in North America." The attention of the readers of the *Quarterly* is called to this work because aside from its value to the scientific world it has both a geological and archaeological bearing upon the State of Ohio. Prof. Wright describes at length the location, movement and geological results of the glacial epoch in what is now the Buckeye State, the north-western two-thirds of which was in the Ice Age submerged beneath the great ice flow from the north. The edge, or terminal moraine, of this covering, is clearly defined in an oblique line, reaching from New Lisbon to Cincinnati. The territory south-east of this line remained "dry." Prof. Wright deals most interestingly, and in phraseology the layman can easily comprehend, with all the scientific features of this ice covered region; the testimony of the terminal moraine; the marks of the deposits by knobs and kettle holes; the great boulders brought down from Canada and scattered here and there, gigantic and imperishable records of the ice flood, its direction and extent; all the great results of this tremendous epoch are related and, as far as science can do so, explained.

One of the most interesting features of this work to the Ohio reader is the archaeological proof of the existence of the glacial man in Ohio. This is found in the chapter on "Man in the Glacial Period." The witnesses of the presence of the original ice man in this State are few but their evidence seems to be convincing to Professor Wright. In 1844, Dr. C. L. Metz, of Madisonville, near Cincinnati, found "an implement chipped from a pebble of black flint" embedded in the gravel, eight feet below the surface. This paleolith is about the size of a man's hand, and is almost a replica, in size, shape and material, of one found by Dr. Abbott in the Trenton (N. J.) gravel. In 1887 Dr. Metz found another paleolith in an excavation in a similar deposit in the north-east corner of Clermont county, near Loveland. In October, 1889, Mr. W. C. Mills, then president of a local Archæological Society at Newcomerstown, and now Curator of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, found a flint implement of paleolithic type fifteen feet below the surface of the glacial terrace bordering the valley at Newcomerstown. This paleolith, Prof. Wright states, is a duplication, in all respects, to one from the valley of the Somme, France, and which was placed in the possession of Prof. Wright by Dr. Evans of London. There seems to be no doubt in the minds of Dr. Metz and Mr. Mills that the paleoliths came to the places of their lodgment by natural means, and therefore there can be nothing artificial about their testimony. All this is most interesting and, as the daily journals often say in their head-lines, "important if true." The entree to, and existence in, the precincts of Ohio seems to rest upon these three paleolithic proofs. Are they enough, is the query suggested to the legal mind, trained to the weighing of evidence? If the ice man was really here as an inhabitant, why not other, indeed num-

erous, similar testimonials in other regions covered by the glacial flow? But this question is not for us to discuss. We leave the debate to the learned gentlemen of the scientific arena.

Prof. Wright's book is not a "dry as dust" volume of technical lore. It is written in a clear, simple, entertaining style; holds the reader, young and old, the collegiate and one only endowed with "common sense," with equal intent. It is at once a most successful contribution to the scientific and popular lore concerning the period, when the ice man of the north went forth and gripped with his frigid fingers a large portion of the earth. It was a wonderful conquest and Prof. Wright tells the story in a manner at once charming and scholarly. The work is printed in clear, legible type and is embellished with copious illustrations and maps.

THE WILDERNESS TRAIL.

One of the most valuable contributions to the historical literature of the West, issued in recent years, is one entitled "The Wilderness Trail," or "The Ventures and Adventures of the Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path," with some annals of the "Old West, and the Records of Some Strong Men and Some Bad Ones." The work, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, is in two volumes of four hundred pages each. There are numerous pictures and portraits, a few of the latter from rare originals, never before reproduced; there are also many maps, reduced replicas, from the originals in the government archives. The author of this work is Mr. Charles A. Hanna, whose extensive account of "The Scotch-Irish" published some years ago, gave the author a most favorable introduction to the public. Mr. Hanna is an Ohio man, having been born and raised in Harrison county, though for many years he has been a resident of New York City. The work deserves a more extended and detailed review than our space will permit. It has met with a most complimentary reception at the hands of the literary and historical critics. Mr. Hanna has put forth a monumental production. Possessed of an intense interest in the early history of the great west, especially the Ohio Valley, endowed with the temperament and taste of a man of letters, Mr. Hanna has with almost overzealous application to details and an indefatigible devotion to accuracy accumulated a well nigh overwhelming fund of historical matter. Indeed Mr. Hanna's volumes present an amplitude of facts that almost bewilder the reader. But the data acquired through great labor and patience has been secured from authoritative sources and has the inestimable value of accuracy. The sources of information are freely stated and original documents, archives, inaccessible to the ordinary writer, and rare authorities are drawn upon and much historical information, hitherto un-

published is placed at the command of the book buyer. For the historical student, for the teacher and the writer on historical topics covered by the reach of the book, it has no equal, indeed no substitute or equivalent. But for the mere reader, seeking a consecutive narrative, for entertainment as well as knowledge the volumes will not fill so wide a field. But this latter evidently was not the ambition or purpose of the author. He has accomplished what he set forth to do — placed a storehouse of historical material at the command of those wishing to draw therefrom. The subjects treated by the author cover the numerous Indian tribes ranging from Eastern Pennsylvania to the Illinois river. The tribal differences and hostile relations are related. The great chiefs and sachems are brought to view. The chief network of the volumes is the outlining of the Indian paths, the great wilderness trails, that formed the highways, east and west, north and south, in the territory mentioned above. No such complete and accurate literary and historical surveying has been done by any other author. The many forest paths of the aborigine and the pioneer trader have been heretofore more or less labyrinthian even to the student of aboriginal days. Mr. Hanna, however, has traced these out, fully described them and descriptively platted their direction and extent. The Indian villages and trader centers are designated and the leading traders and adventurers who trod these paths are again led through their negotiations and adventures. The rivers and streams, the waterways of the same period are completely described, along the banks of which waterways and through the paths of the forest interiors move the figures of the red and the white man of the earliest historic times; personages of whom we read so often cursorily in the general histories and legendarily or pictorially in the romances and stories of imaginative writers. But in the pages of Mr. Hanna we get the specific data concerning these actors in the earliest western events. A great host of Indian chiefs and sachems are noted and all the leading traders and scouts. An idea of the detail scope of the work is intimated by the fact that in the pages of the work some three hundred rivers and as many creeks are mentioned by name and some five hundred Indian towns are designated. The Indian names of these creeks, rivers and towns are given and in great numbers of cases the English equivalent. The brief but illuminating sketches and notes concerning the historic Indians and traders not only give much fresh knowledge to the reader but correct in innumerable instances well established errors prevailing heretofore in the popular literature bearing upon the people and events touched upon by Mr. Hanna. In short "The Wilderness Trail" is a great work — a vast collection of historic lore which greatly increases our accessible knowledge of the Indian tribes, their living centers, their movements, their leaders, their wars; and their pale face enemies and friends, the trader with his pack-horses, the scout as the forerunner of tribal encounter or bloody contests between the redman and his invading pale face. Mr. Hanna

has done a unique and stupendous service in the field of western historic lore. These volumes will soon be beyond the reach of the purchaser as but one thousand copies were printed — "from type and the type destroyed" — say the publishers. Scarcity will therefore soon add to the value of the work.

A BUCKEYE BOYHOOD.

A very delightful and entertaining little volume of two hundred pages, recently published by The Robert Clarke Company, Cincinnati, is "A Buckeye Boyhood," by William Henry Venable. The mention of the author's name is assurance of the literary excellence of the story and the charming nature of the narrative. Mr. Venable early won high place among the Ohio men of letters by his "Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley," now a classic in Ohioana. His numerous other books of poetry, history, fiction and essay bespeak the range of his intellectual wealth and the versatility of his talent, thought and study. A dozen or more volumes on various themes, all gems in their way, attest the popular place Mr. Venable has attained among the readers not only of Ohio but the country at large. This last volume is a "veiled autobiography" — a renaissance of the life and times of the author's boyhood; much of the recital being his own personal experience. The story is given in a simple, lucid style of "everyday" English — rendering the pages fascinating alike to young and old. In the rush and whirl of our present day life the literature that seems most in demand is that either of the purely informing kind — the knowledge more or less heavy or technical that men and women seek for practical purposes — or the highly imaginative or sensational class that stimulates the emotions and is read, much as narcotics and intoxicants are taken, to deaden for the moment the oppressions and cares of an overwrought nervous existence. The Buckeye Boyhood is a reversion — evidently delightful to the author and hence also to the reader — to the simple rural life of a generation or two ago; the struggle on the farm, for a plain living, with its attendant enjoyment of the freedom and beauties of nature; the toil arduous but simple, and unhampered by the exactions and high pressure of the "get there" ambitions and superfluous luxuries. The fields and woods and streams and hills and dales were the boy's arena — the country school with its elemental studies, the glimpses of the village and city life and the wider range of vision they opened for the lad; his books and reading and his amusements; all these are set forth by the pen of Mr. Venable as with the brush of a master upon the canvas of memory by an artist not an impressionist but a realist. The chapter on "religious experience" is especially readable as it typifies the crucial trial through which nearly all thoughtful and serious

minded boys must pass. The "experience" is not unique but universal, the awakening of the expanding soul to the mysteries of an unseen but nevertheless a real world; the working of an irresistible spirit upon the troubled waters of a soul seeking to reconcile the natural inherent religion with the dogmatic or conventional creed of the church. This reconciliation must be solved by each youth in his own way, influenced or aided by his own peculiar environment. How the Buckeye Boy wrought out his great problem and found his permanent foothold in a natural faith is told with unaffected candor and reverential delicacy. This review of youthful times — the backward look of a half a century or more — is a rare and precious playspell in the later days of a mature and fruitful literary life

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POEMS ON OHIO.

We believe it was Isaac Walton in his "Complete Angler" who spoke of "old fashioned poetry, but choicely good." There are of course poets and poets, and good, bad and indifferent. The little volume entitled "Poems on Ohio," collected and annotated by Professor C. L. Martzolff, and published by the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society offers a variety in degree of excellency in the quality of the effusions by the rhyming writers who have taken Ohio, localities therein and historical incidents and characters connected therewith, as their subjects. Some of these poems are by authors whose names are fixed in the literary firmament; others of these poems will be classed by the critics as mere rhyming productions, a few verging towards the class designated as doggerel, but all are interesting and from some point of view deserving of preservation. They number in this volume some hundred and thirty and reflect the sentiment and culture of the early pioneer days. It was well worth while for Prof. Martzolff to gather up these stray poems and put them in permanent form. The editor's annotations are of great value for they embrace brief biographical notices of the authors, whose names, many of them at least, would otherwise have been lost in the shades of oblivion. Mr. Martzolff is well qualified for his part in the publication, for he has been for years a zealous student of Ohio history and his many valuable articles in the volumes of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society have made for him a recognized place in the literature of the history of Ohio. This volume should be in every public library in the State and to the teachers it will be of great use on occasions commemorative of historic events and in exercises of a patriotic nature. The volume retails for $1.00 and is sold by the Society publishing it.

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